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POLITICALLY, M. Poincaré is the first Frenchman. But in the world of letters—which means far more in France than here—Anatole France, contributing editor of *The Nation*, stands indisputably first. He represents a significant if often unvocal part of French opinion. If only, instead of sending pompous military men about the world, official France would send ambassadors speaking his language, France would be better served and better loved:

Europe must be remade. Our existence is involved. There must be no more war spirit. Certainly we must obtain reparations due us but we must not claim with puerile violence from a single nation sums which all the nations of the world by emptying their coffers could not furnish.

I do not say to my compatriots, "Do not hate, forget." I know poor human nature too well. But I do say, "Be reasonable, be peaceable." Let us not extend the use of brute force, which destroys those who use it as surely as those who endure it. Frenchmen, do not aspire to hegemony, henceforth impossible on sea or land. Do not dream of victories or conquests. Let us diminish our effectives and shorten the period of military service. It is of prime necessity to avoid enormous, useless expenses. In the common distress of all nations France is perhaps least miserable. We are not suffering an unemployment crisis like that of the English workers. For pity's sake, if we love glory, if we wish to be the first nation of the world, let it be by reason, by wisdom, by a just understanding of what is possible and what is good, by a tranquil regard which embraces mankind; and finally, in the words of Goethe, let us be good Europeans.

BRITISH policy toward Egypt has taken another tack and seems for the moment to be veering toward conciliation rather than toward increased oppression. Less than a month ago the British High Commissioner in Egypt made a statement asserting his Government's willingness "to terminate the protectorate" and "to recognize the existence of Egypt as a sovereign state . . . as soon as they were satisfied as to the following conditions;" and these conditions included a guaranty of protection for the imperial communications and for foreigners in Egypt. Now Lord Allenby is setting out for Egypt with a new offer in his pocket, the terms of which are said to include *unconditional* abolition of the protectorate and the suggestion that the safeguarding of British interests and communications and the protection of foreign residence in Egypt be "reserved for future discussion." British troops would gradually be withdrawn to the Suez Canal which would be guarded jointly by Great Britain and Egypt; and "the British Government, in considering the question of relations of Egypt to other foreign Powers, has adopted the principle of the Monroe Doctrine." Which might mean almost anything; whether Egypt will gain or lose by the transplanting to her soil of this American tactic of imperialism, for the present depends chiefly upon her own power and stability.

WAR clouds have cleared somewhat from Irish skies. On both sides of the Ulster border prisoners and hostages have been released. In Great Britain as well as in America there has been a commendable disposition to recognize the difficulties that Michael Collins faces. Even the New York *Times* remembers the six years of confusion which preceded the establishment of our own Federal Government. But geography and history, England and the Orangemen, will not permit Ireland to grope for six years toward unity. And the worst difficulties are created by the Orangemen. It is idle for Ireland's well-wishers to back Collins or to criticize De Valera's recent course if they do not see how vain is talk of peace and conciliation while Protestant Orangemen, unrestrained by Sir James Craig or Lloyd George, bomb Catholic children in Belfast streets. In the border raids men have been taken as hostages and kept in safety; in Belfast street fighting, in which as a rule Orangemen are aggressors—a fact which our Associated Press dispatches consistently conceal—men, women, and children are killed. Here is an issue which transcends politics. It is a matter of sheer decency. The shame of Belfast is greater because these men still kill in the name of religion for the greater glory of God. May we not hope that the churches, Catholic and Protestant, will follow the lead of the Belfast Quakers in proclaiming days of prayer for peace, and that clergymen of all sects will work vigorously to stop murder whatever their views on politics.

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WE sincerely hope that the Obregon Government is right in minimizing the importance of recent sporadic revolts which have again brought Mexico into the headlines. Whatever may happen in the future, it is a testimony to the strength and popularity of the Obregon Administration that it has made so good a record in the face of the handicap of American non-recognition which has proved serious to former Mexican rulers. Mr. Harding has recently taken pains to denounce the work of unauthorized agents, Mexican and American, but he offers no new or plausible explanation of his failure to recognize the best government Mexico ever had. The trouble is still, we presume, a failure to treat the claims of American property-holders with due reverence. Some of those property-holders for whom our Government is so concerned appear to spend their spare time in subsidizing revolutions. It is an American, Mr. Noel D. Clark, vice-president of the International Commercial Exposition, who declares: "Oil interests are financing revolution. As long as oil men can keep Mexico in a state of chaos, they will not have to pay production taxes which amount to 75 centavos a barrel." This is in line with the disclosures in the Hearst papers and the charge—which the oil men never thought it worth while to deny—that the Standard Oil Company and others financed the abortive revolution of July, 1921. So apathetic is American public opinion that these charges go unheeded. There is a rather despicable quality about the American concern for peace—with nations powerful enough to make war dangerous—which goes hand in hand with an imperialistic and essentially provocative attitude toward weaker nations like Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Mexico.

SENATOR KENYON'S bill to relieve unemployment by giving the President power "to speed up in slack times and retard in prosperous times construction of public works" embodied one of the constructive proposals of the President's Unemployment Conference. It was indorsed by conservative business organizations yet it has been defeated in the Senate by the adoption of an amendment which so narrows its scope as, in the judgment of Senator Kenyon, to make it useless. Senators who support the soldiers' bonus and other subsidies became mighty individualists afraid of "paternalism" and of the undue power of the Department of Commerce, which was authorized by the bill to publish monthly reports as to the trend of business conditions, when it was a question of fighting unemployment. Meanwhile a similar law has been enacted in California. It will be worth watching its operation. For the success of so moderate a measure in one State may prevail upon our national lawmakers.

THIRTY-FIVE thousand textile workers are on strike, in Rhode Island and New Hampshire, against a 20 per cent wage cut and a 54-hour working week. Their wages were reduced 22½ per cent a year ago; the cost of living in Manchester, New Hampshire, where 20,000 of the workers are employed, has gone down only 7 per cent in a year, according to Federal Government statistics. And these wages, that have been reduced by more than a third, averaged at their peak, according to the manufacturers' own figures, for men, under $21 a week, and for women, under $14. Worse than that, the mills have been on half-time for six months. Heads of families have been receiving less than $10 a week. Not even the foremen in the New Hampshire mills knew of the new reduction or of the proposed lengthening of the working week fifteen minutes before, on order from Boston, the notices were posted in all the supposedly competitive mills. The workers, mainly unorganized though they were, struck virtually 100 per cent. The mills are closed. Many say the mill-owners only sought an excuse to close them, in order to exhaust the over-supply, create a new demand, and hold or boost prices. Orders for coal and cotton have been cancelled. The issue is clear; it is a stark attempt to use industrial power in this depression-period to force workers already below any possibility of a normal "American standard of living" to accept still lower wages and still longer hours. The cotton industry, America's first great factory-industry, proclaims, as the New York *Globe* has ably pointed out, that it is unable or unwilling to pay anything like a living wage. It is a confession of failure of the competitive profit system.

ATTEMPTS being made in various quarters to justify the sales tax in the United States by the example of Canada are far from warranted. The sales tax which still remains in force in Canada is a rather complicated affair, payable according to the circumstances by manufacturer, wholesaler, or retailer. The manufacturer adds 1½ per cent to his invoice if he sells to the wholesaler, and 3 per cent if he sells direct to the retailer. The wholesaler can either charge the retailer 1½ per cent separately or can absorb this in his price to him. As may be imagined, there is here much material for disputes, and, as a matter of fact, there are many sales-tax cases now before the Canadian courts. Imported goods pay 4 per cent; in other words, advantage was taken of the tax to give the Canadian manufacturers an additional 1 per cent protection. That the tax falls ultimately upon the consumer is not questioned by anyone. It is not at all popular, and it is retained chiefly because of Canada's dire need of revenue. The Canadian national debt now amounts to $220 for every man, woman, and child. As a revenue producer the tax has not been a great success. According to figures compiled by Francis A. Carman in the *Bulletin* of the Committee of Manufacturers and Merchants on Federal Taxation, it will produce during the current fiscal year only $60,000,000 at best out of the $100,000,000 which it was counted upon to produce. This bad showing is due to the general industrial depression, but to say the least the tax has not lightened the burden on business and it has fallen inequitably upon those whose income is small.

VARIOUS prosecuting attorneys, singly and in convention, are urging more severe penalties to combat crime —which is dangerous nonsense. Not the cruelty of punishment but the certainty of justice is the remedy for crime. If the cruelty of our penal system could save us long ago would the problem of crime have been solved. A man who spent three days in the Denver city jail writes us of his experiences. He was one of the victims of the wholly illegal raid upon a workers' forum made by the chief of police. He and all others who were arrested were ultimately released. But in the meantime fourteen "wobblies" had been forcibly deported from Denver, a number of other men guilty of attending a forum had been foully cursed by the police and herded in a vile "bull pen" with a miscellaneous lot of "drunks, dopes, and bootleggers." One tubercular ex-soldier with a high temperature was deprived of his medicine and thrown in with the rest. We shall

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leave to the imagination our correspondent's picture of a night in that pen. But this outrage on humanity is not peculiar to Denver; it is the usual beginning of the process called justice. Its end is described in dispatches from Chicago telling how Harvey Church, condemned to death, was forcibly fed to prevent his death by hunger-striking before he could be hung.

THE Duell Bill providing for compulsory judicial settlement of industrial disputes in the State of New York raises not so much an issue of capital against labor or of the public against strikes as of egregious folly against common sense. We have previously commented on the impossibility of enforcing any scheme of "economic-legal justice" through court action. But this bill does more than set up an industrial court. Articles 217 and 219, if they mean anything, mean a judicial dictatorship over employers and employees which can only arouse further opposition to our whole judicial system. They make possible an unworkable form of state capitalism more paralyzing to that "individualism" beloved by all business men than most socialist schemes. Under Article 219-e the court may take over an industry facing "cessation of operation" by reason of an industrial dispute, provided that fair compensation is given to the owners and fair wages to the workers. What a bonanza for a distressed corporation! All that it needs to do is to arrange a strike and then milk the treasury. Yet this bill has the approval of a considerable body of public opinion which is so moved by dislike of organized labor and fear of strikes that it blindly welcomes any quack remedy.

SO the Leviathan is to sail the seas once more. This noble hulk, a monument of ingenuity, is to be rejuvenated and to resume what must seem to it a humdrum existence. Surely if historic battleships are worth preserving, this mighty craft ought to be kept afloat for a long time to come. The suddenness of her incarceration in New York's port, the skilled secret steps to wreck her at her wharf in the event of war between the United States and the land of her owners, and then the extraordinary episode of Yankee welders making good in a couple of months damage which was believed to be beyond human repair save in years—all these things will make the Leviathan as long as she floats a thing "for to admire and for to see." Perhaps she may yet go back under her first flag. Perhaps she will sail on to the end under the Stars and Stripes whose soldiers she took to the very jaws of death ten thousand at a time and some of whom she brought back—a modern Trojan horse transporting a brigade at a trip and helping to end the fairy tale that America could not throw her legions overseas at will. So wherever she goes hereafter Romance and History sail with her and stand beside her captain on the bridge.

UNIVERSITY trustees are not always very subtle people, but there is one sort of language they can understand as well as anybody. That particular sort seems at last to have reached the ears of the trustees of Columbia University in connection with the case of James McKeen Cattell. Dismissed without proper charges, without a hearing, without even decent manners, upon the preposterous accusations of "sedition," "treason," and "opposition to the enforcement of the laws of the United States," Professor Cattell sued the trustees for libel and made demands for the payment of the pension to which he was entitled by the statutes of the university. Now, with the understanding that he is to drop the libel suits, he has been awarded an allowance of about $45,000, which represents his rights under the university statutes. It is a question whether a jury would have returned a verdict in his favor, despite the justice of his cause, during the mad days of 1917 when he was dismissed. But times have changed, and even university trustees can no longer bully a professor as they felt free to do when they had the patriotic pack behind them.

WE are willing to believe that the elder Dumas whistles and exults now, in his particular field of asphodel, at what has happened to "The Three Musketeers" in the Douglas Fairbanks's version. Stevenson himself could not have cut away the novel's exuberant episodes to a neater, sparer stream of narrative. The action hums. Taste, by some agreeable miracle, has crept in here. The king looks like a king and the cardinal like a cardinal—though somewhat, too, like a malicious old woman; Constance is sweet without being silly and Milady is serpentine without being snaky. Of course the center of the action is the Three: Porthos the Mighty, Athos the Disillusioned, Aramis the Squire of Dames. What manner, what competence, what gusto, what gallantry! And of course even that constellation glitters a hundred times more brightly when D'Artagnan (Mr. Fairbanks) arrives from his Gascon home and proceeds to whittle his fortune out of Paris with a sword the like of which has never been seen there. It is indeed all mad romance: steel blades go clean through men and barely inconvenience them; D'Artagnan performs feats of athletics which could never have come off had not the stage been artificially set; accident and coincidence and joyful whim are the Three Fates of this universe. But critical strictures like these are vain when the desire of youth to be brave and successful has its fling for once and the best story of romantic adventure ever written takes a new lease of life in a new and vivid medium.

MUSICAL America is not unacquainted with Schumann's "Kreisleriana," and Offenbach's "Tales of Hoffmann" have the sort of popularity which the sophisticated regard as a little abject. But very few remember today the wild, strange, lovable man of genius whose writings inspired both compositions and the hundredth anniversary of whose death this year is being marked by memorials, critical studies, and new editions of his works. Ernst Theodor Hoffmann, who assumed the additional name of Amadeus as an act of homage to Mozart, was jurist, composer, conductor, dreamer, drunkard, and man of letters. He composed an opera which Weber praised; he conducted orchestras in at least two cities; he was one of the most competent judges of the Kammergericht in Berlin, spent his nights and evenings in a wine restaurant still redolent of his fame, and at odd intervals wrote or dictated his "Elixire des Teufels" and "Die Serapionsbrüder," the collection of stories and novelettes that make his name memorable. These stories which had the most powerful influence on the French romantic writers, fascinated Carlyle, and were not unknown to Poe are gorgeous fairy-tales for adults. Their method and tone is sober and realistic; their substance and implications have a compelling and permanent magic that has inspired composers and poets and still remains a delightful refuge—as it was to Hoffmann himself—from the troublesome problems of the world.

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The Bonus Swindle

So the President has yielded to the advocates of the sales tax and has suggested a way to pay the soldiers' bonus which Congress dislikes and probably will not follow—thus finally boxing the compass of political hypocrisy and cowardice. Every one of the Republican leaders knows that the bonus ought not to be voted at any time and least of all at this. It is a proposal that would never have originated with Congress or the Executive and would not now be considered if there were not an election in sight next fall. The Republicans committed themselves to it in their vague platform simply for fear of the soldier vote and are trying to redeem their pledge now because they are being assailed by demands from the American Legion, demands both direct and indirect and accentuated by the prevailing unemployment. They know that the money for it is not available and cannot be raised without undoing all their efforts to economize and seriously embarrassing the Treasury, which has to refund six billions of the war debt within the next sixteen months. So they are in an utter panic and for once a group of politicians has been unable to conceal the working of their machinery. The whole country has watched the edifying spectacle of Congress "passing the buck" to the President and receiving it back again. There has not been an iota of statesmanship or a vestige of courage outside of the stand of Senator Borah and a few others.

Not that we think the performance peculiarly Republican. Were the Democrats in power we should doubtless be witnessing precisely the same thing. The nature of the machine politician on the eve of an election is the same no matter under which flag the Bezonian happens to be enlisted at the moment. The President's part has, however, been particularly Hardingesque. As in so many other matters he has taken no stand until compelled to by the Congress's abdication of its functions and then, after making his impossible recommendation, he couples to it the hint that after all it might be well to postpone the whole matter until that indefinite time when the Treasury shall not be as bare as old Mother Hubbard's cupboard. What Mr. Harding has done in this case is true of the tariff and the shipping problem and the Conference at Genoa—to say nothing of possible remedies for the plight of the farmer and the unemployed. Delay, linger, and wait seems to be the motto of an Administration heavily handicapped by its policy of trying to get on by being a good fellow to everybody. The actuating motive seems to be the hope that if you let a thing drift long enough there will be some kind of a divine dispensation to get you out of your hole or to point the way out. Alas for the Republican leaders, for once their luck has gone. The hard times are not only staying hard; they are if anything getting worse while issue after issue refuses to be downed by the mere lapse of time. No longer do we hear the proud old Republican boast that they alone are fit to rule. What we are witnessing is a most amazing spectacle of the breakdown of our political government.

Of course what should have been done is perfectly plain and simple. The bonus should have been denounced as what it is, the merest raid upon the Treasury, a sordid demand for a cash payment which will bear no relation to any financial losses any given soldier may have sustained by his service and in many cases will be of no genuine benefit, an entering wedge toward repetition of the shameful history of the Grand Army's pension-grabbing. It is once more to put a cash price upon a service which in the case of those who volunteered we were assured was quite beyond price. The proposal differentiates very little between those who faced the enemy and those who took care of a mule train at El Paso, Texas. We could understand the outcry for it if it were frankly a demand on the part of those who were drafted against their wills to fight in a war they did not believe in, for then at least there would be some recognizable motive beside the desire to get one's hands into the Treasury. We admit, of course, that plenty of others are doing that very same thing—to dole out the surplus in the Treasury to its backers and it proteges has been the one cardinal principle of Republicanism ever since it abandoned its Civil War-time ideals. But the fact that there are plenty of feet in the trough is no excuse for others trying to get theirs in, least of all men who as the Government and its militarists used to tell us gained so much by their service. The army, we learned, made men of them. Then why do they need a few more dollars now? Certainly nobody can claim that this Treasury raid has anything to do with patriotism or the true purposes of government.

Now, whatever the disabled soldiers need we are for supplying it to them. Like everybody else who has looked into the matter we feel outraged at the treatment many of these sufferers have received. Men are breaking down every day who apparently came out of the struggle whole and sound. They should and must have the best hospital care, industrial education, psychological supervision, and cash where advisable, even if it costs the seventy-five billion dollars which Senator Borah estimates it will. That so many of our hundred-per-cent Americans who urged these men into the struggle, or approved their being drafted, are now forgetting them is characteristic of the breed which shouts so loudly for others to fight and then stays safely at home. Believing as we do that this country committed a crime when it sent any men into the war and a double-dyed crime when it forced them in against their will, we are for making retribution to those whose lives were ruined; for them we are ready to revive the war-time slogan: "Give till it hurts." But to give huge sums to all ex-soldiers in small driblets is nothing less than demoralizing and debasing. If such sums must be taken out of the Treasury then let them be appropriated as a whole to the general welfare in which the ex-soldiers share. It is not primarily a question of the money involved. It is not enough to say that we cannot afford the bonus, that it will raise our taxes. If it comes to that we had as soon see it given to the ex-soldiers as wasted on the army and navy we are still keeping up. It is the underlying principle for which we fight, just as it is to save the ex-soldiers themselves from the demoralizing effect of doles.

If the Republican Party really faces disaster, if it fails to vote the bonus, it had better ask itself whether it will not also commit suicide if it piles up the cost of living on the individual by the sales tax. The alternative may be an unhappy one, but that the party is face to face with this choice is its own fault—nobody else's. And the pity of it is that one bold, brave and courageous utterance by the man who is supposed to be President of all the people would clear the whole atmosphere and drive away this menace to the country as wisps of fog flee before a fresh breeze from the West.

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The Fate of Mid-Europe

IT is three years since Mr. Wilson, reading the Covenant of the new League of Nations to the assembled statesmen at Paris, announced that "the miasma of distrust, of intrigue, is cleared away. Men are looking eye to eye and saying 'We are brothers and have a common purpose. We did not realize it before but now we do realize it, and this is our covenant of friendship.'" Three years—but the things he announced then have not yet come true. The League excluded and still excludes Germany and Russia from membership. And the dead hand of the revengeful treaties which were born with the League has kept Europe from realizing that brotherhood in a common purpose which once seemed so near. Little nations were indeed set free, but in an hour of cruelly exaggerated nationalism. Each of the new little nations snarled at the others, established customs frontiers, and did its best to dam the currents of commerce that had linked it with the others.

So through these three years the people of Central Europe have had to wait for even that measure of relative peace which has been the lot of the victors. Austria has seen her unit of money decline in value from twenty cents to one thirty-fifth of a cent; Germany hers from twenty-four cents to half a cent, with all the upsets which that means. It is hard for comfortable Americans to realize the revolution in German and Austrian life caused by this catastrophic depreciation. The old German virtue of thrift has lost its stimulus. Money carefully invested has turned out to be money thrown away. Extravagance alone has stood the pragmatic test of these hectic times. The working-class has not improved its material condition in Germany and the middle classes have lost. The normal, healthy processes of trade and commerce have been hampered by uncertainty as to what Allied demands or hesitations might cause new crises—such as that in Vienna recently, when the police, understanding too well the spirit of the mob, stood by while hungry crowds ransacked the city's shops and robbed the rich men's hotels. Food may double its price overnight in those unhappy countries. And this because the politicians of the victor nations have not yet emerged from the hate-period into a frank acknowledgment of the necessity of economic collaboration.

That is why *The Nation* takes occasion, in this Mid-European Number, to call attention once more to the condition of Central Europe, where the new life stirring is ever hampered by the dead-weight of treaties which perpetuate the war-time hates. The lesser nations have indeed begun to show their elders the way. The little Baltic states first made peace with Russia in defiance of their mentors, England and France, and then began to move toward economic federation. The Great Powers, still reluctant to admit their mistakes, have followed to the extent of "de facto recognition." M. Poincaré reached the height of absurdity, indignantly denying that he had met any Soviet agent while admitting that he was negotiating with Moscow headquarters by wireless. Unurged by those who should have guided them, the "succession states"—Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, and Jugoslavia—formed the Little Entente, and began negotiating commercial, customs, and arbitration treaties with each other; and finally the Czechs, by negotiating a series of treaties with their old enemy, Austria (printed on page 173 of this issue), have virtually taken that country into the Little Entente, thus paving the way toward eventual reestablishment of the economic unit of the old Austrian Empire.

The treaties are dead; such health as Europe has grows out of their death. So dead is the Treaty of St. Germain that the governments which drew the provisions for Austrian reparations have abandoned their claims and after long and cruel delay now plan to lend her money. The Bulgarians can pay no reparations. France and Italy have signed new peace treaties with a Turkish Government which openly rejects and defies the Treaty of Sèvres, and England soon will have to follow suit. Hungary has hardly pretended to execute the Treaty of the Trianon. Only Versailles still receives the faint honor of lip-worship. Even there, as Mr. Keynes remarks in his brilliant study, "A Revision of the Treaty," "the actions of those in power have been wiser than their words. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that no parts of the peace treaties have been carried out except those relating to frontiers and disarmament." Slowly and reluctantly the reparations provisions have been revised. Mr. Keynes's summary of the antics of Mr. Lloyd George and of the series of French prime ministers, attempting to cope at once with economic facts and with political conditions, is so witty a tale that future historians will find it hard to credit it. But behind its ludicrousness is the cruel story of the effect of these compromises and camouflages upon Central Europe. There the joke is less evident. Europe stumbles blindly and lamely along a path which she might tread firmly and hopefully had she statesmen with courage to speak stirringly of the need to revise the hateful treaties and to re-create Europe not in a spirit of vindictive revenge but in full consciousness of the economic necessity of cooperation and brotherhood. There are times when Mr. Lloyd George, for all his checkered past, comes near to being the man. His vision of a world conference in which Russia and Germany would sit side by side with the Western Powers, and discuss freely and without reserve whatever questions concern the restoration of Europe, was the vision which Europe and the world needs. May such a conference come before the misery and the breakdown of Central Europe creates new and ineradicable bitternesses!

The Cheerful Pessimist

OPTIMIST and pessimist have long ceased to be terms that have any relation to the reason or to the nature of things. The one is supposed simply to cheer, the other to depress the normally aspiring soul, and it is a well-nigh forgotten exercise to examine the grounds of either's private acts or public utterances. Thus it has come to pass that he who in no sense despairs either of the republic or of mankind, but holds the ills of both to be discoverable and remediable, is fitted out by the popular imagination with a forbidding scowl and a poisoned tongue. Your blithe "booster," on the other hand, who keeps smiling according to the almost national slogan and declares that all things work together for the good of the reasonably healthy in body and honest in business is paid a dollar a word for his editorials and reckoned among the Forces for Good.

It is worth while to examine for a moment this man's title to the name of optimist. He does not, in reality, see the best side of things, because his concern is not with things at all. He thinks he can pack away his own troubles and the troubles of the world in his old kit bag and have any reason left for smiling. He forgets that the troubles

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as well as the heartening things of human life are not accidental but inherent in nature. To pack them away is to leave them untouched and uncured. A man afflicted with some grave disorder may indeed, unless the pain becomes too acute, dismiss the fact from his mind and keep smiling until neither medication nor the surgeon's knife can save him from his fate. He may, during the process, give a fleeting cheer to the unobservant only to shock them the more harrowingly by the apparent suddenness of his taking off. But that man can hardly be thought of as an encouraging or an heroic figure. His course of action has been motivated by a hopelessness of alleviation and a terror of the inexorable truth. He is a vivid symbol of your commoner type of optimist. The cheer he brings is pitiful and brief enough.

We have not yet exhausted his psychology. Beneath his hiding away of his own troubles and the troubles of the world are not only despair and fear; there is the steady though obscure hope of a miracle. In the only kind of story he will read or play that he will witness a moral or material miracle, a sudden uncaused change from "bad" to "good", is the central and quite unvarying requirement that he makes. In order to pursue his course and keep his temper he needs constantly to be assured that unexpected inheritances, recoveries of health, and unmotivated changes in human character are part of that disorder which he calls his world. It is, therefore, your professional optimist who fills the coffers of the oil-stock crook, the quack and esoteric healer, the vulgar revivalist. A nation of boosters and smilers supports an unprecedented crowd of miracle-mongers and shies nervously at anyone who tries to strip it of its childish faith in suppressions and palliatives and miracles and lead it toward the tonic world of reality.

Thus it has come about that he who is commonly known among us as a "knocker," a pessimist, and a depressing fellow is nothing in the world but one who has a little courage, a little honest willingness to "face the music," a little hope that things in their real nature are not immedicably foul and wrong. If he fixes his attention upon the darker aspects of reality, it is because these are most to be feared and need, therefore, to be watched in the hope that they may be ameliorated or destroyed. He is often accused because he will not substitute a brand-new panacea for an ancient abuse. But that very unwillingness is a further proof of his fine trust that men can be saved by reason and their own natures and need not necessarily be driven from a crumbling prison into one just built.

For faith in miracles and nostrums our pessimist substitutes a faith in the final manageableness of things. To hope to manage them he must know them as they really are. But this investigation does not depress him in the least. For he is anything but a moral nominalist and he finds much to love and to hope for where the optimist permits himself to be frightened by a bad name. He may not cultivate the perpetual grin, but his gravity will be richly punctuated by laughter; he is no unreflective hustler and booster; he is normally well employed and steadfastly serene. He is amused to think how even Arthur Schopenhauer, the reputed father of his tribe, though he identified the Will to Live with evil in its absolute nature, continued with a passion undiminished by age to proclaim the doctrines he had invented and thus, through a sort of inverted meliorism, bore witness to his faith that a discoverable truth will yet save mankind and make it free.

Feminist Men

WOMEN of genius are painfully scarce in a world in which men of genius are also painfully scarce, and many theories have been put forward to explain the lack. Well, we have our own explanation: Women are handicapped by a long tradition of accessibility and amiability—qualities which are death to eminence. They have not quite learned—the most independent of them—to shut the door and devote themselves to lofty cerebration while the baby cries and the cook lets the apple sauce burn. And the worst of it is that if they do shut the door the apple sauce will indeed burn. For the success of feminism rests only in part on the valor of women; it involves, first and foremost, the domestic subjection of men. Perhaps men sense this when they spend their lives in the production of monthly magazines devoted to the thesis that housekeeping, although a job that no man would care to undertake, can become in the hands of women an elaborate and efficient profession. Perhaps men realize that their own poor hope of eminence will be decreased if their wives' chances are bettered. Perhaps they are only animated by the more simple, natural desire to have their food cooked for them by someone who does not know how to earn a living in any other way.

At any rate men as a rule do not encourage their wives to "work," and whether they know it or not they are wise to oppose it. For women who work at a profession are susceptible of such heresies as dividing up the household responsibilities and the cares of domestic management. Amiable as they are, they may learn to insist that husbands shall tune their noses to the acrid scent of burning dinners, and their ears to the significant sounds of the nursery. In those precious hours after work when a man might write the masterpiece of his time or by diligent study train his will power to that pitch of determination which no employer can resist, he may, if he is married to a working wife, be found with a damp dish towel draped around his neck pushing the remains of the evening meal into the ice box. Even now to our knowledge such things exist. In one family of our acquaintance—editors must know all sorts—the husband darns his socks and his buttons are sewed on by the tailor. Presumably his wife darns her own; we never investigated the matter. But week by week they take turns with the ordering of meals and with the counting of the wash. Poor chap, he will never write the great American novel they all talk about. The fact that he seemed to be reasonably contented with his lot only made the situation more pathetic.

As women begin thus to discard their amiability, their eminence may increase. When they refuse to be forever on call—like a fireman, ready to spring into his "turn-out" and roll on any alarm—they may get things done, outside of mere jobs and babies and housekeeping. But we fear that the division of domestic labor that feminism is beginning tc bring about will not necessarily result in a quantity production of female geniuses. Women and men alike will be tied to a part-time housekeeping job, and alike they will suffer. Masterpieces begun by an aspiring genius on an off-week will die during her next trick at the domestic wheel. Not until there are no more homes or babies, or until husbands do all the housework, or until the cooperative commonwealth comes along will genius, regardless of sex, be allowed to find its wings.

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The Material and Moral Disarmament of Germany*

By ROBERT DELL

THE German state arsenals and munition factories have been handed over for peace production to a company called the Deutsche Werke in which the state holds the majority of the shares but which is under autonomous management like any other company. In the factories of the Deutsche Werke the workmen's councils, which now exist in all German factories, have much larger powers than in private establishments—indeed, they have almost equal control with the directors. Nobody can be engaged or dismissed in a factory of the Deutsche Werke without the consent of the workmen's council, nor can rules be altered, new methods be adopted, material be bought, or indeed any decision of importance taken without that consent. Each workmen's council elects a chairman, who gives all his time to administrative work during his term of office and does not work in the factory, but continues to be paid his wages. The council meets during working hours and its members are allowed to leave their work to attend the meetings. The number of members of a council varies according to the size of the factory, eleven being an average.

According to the testimony of the directors and managers of all the factories that we visited, this interesting experiment in workmen's control has been a great success. They unanimously declared that it worked admirably and that friction between themselves and the workmen had been reduced to a minimum. One managing director told me that he had never before known a factory to work so smoothly. The best proof of the success of the system is that it has scarcely ever been necessary to resort to the arbitration tribunal composed of an equal number of representatives of directors and workmen of all the Deutsche Werke establishments, which decides questions about which the two sides in a particular factory cannot agree.

We visited munitions factories at Munich, Hanau, Erfurt, Spandau, Berlin, Essen, and Düsseldorf. During our stay in Berlin, the trade unions gave us a dinner at the Rheingold restaurant at which several ministers were present; the Chancellor, Dr. Wirth, invited us to the Chancellery to meet President Ebert and the members of the Government, and the president of the Reichstag entertained us at his official residence. We had the same opportunities at Munich of informal talks with our various hosts, and were struck by the disappearance of the ceremonious formality characteristic of the old regime. There were no formal speeches after the Rheingold dinner; after it was over, the long dining tables were cleared and we sat and chatted together. Dr. Wirth fully justifies on acquaintance the reputation that he has won in every European country, not excluding France. It requires little psychological insight to recognize him as a completely honest man. He exposed quite simply the difficulties of Germany and answered frankly the many questions that we put to him, without any diplomatic shuffling or official humbug. All that Germany could do, he said, was to fulfil her obligations as long as that was possible at the cost of no matter what sacrifices, but he did not conceal his opinion that, if the uttermost farthing were exacted by the Allies, the consequences to Germany—and to Europe—would be disastrous.

That opinion, by the way, is fully shared by the Geneva bankers, who are quite neutral in the matter. The Société de Banque Suisse in its last monthly bulletin discusses the question of the indemnity and comes to the conclusion that the payment of the first instalment of a billion gold marks was the principal cause of the recent alarming collapse of the paper mark, the other being the enormous issues of paper money required to pay the German producers for the reparations in kind, to meet the deficit on the budget, and to provide the expenses of the military occupation. The Société de Banque Suisse is of opinion that Germany cannot, in her present financial and economic condition, pay three billion gold marks a year without provoking successive internal financial and monetary crises and disorganizing the international money market, and that if the payments continue to be exacted the situation will soon become untenable. It is further of opinion that Germany will never be able to make the larger annual payments anticipated for the future, even should she recover her prewar financial and economic situation, as is improbable for many years to come.

We were all convinced that war material is no longer being manufactured in Germany. The Allied Military Commission of Control sees to that. In every factory that we visited, every building and every machine that could be used for war production had been demolished. Such buildings and such machinery as had been allowed to remain had been converted to peace uses and could not be converted back again without several months' work. The huge areas covered by the former war factories were extraordinary and depressing scenes of destruction. One passed by ruins of building and powder magazines, heaps of scrap iron representing what had once been ingenious and delicately adjusted machinery, vast dismantled sheds standing empty and open to the winds. In most cases only a comparatively small part of the available space was being used, and the number of employees was greatly reduced. At the former powder factory at Wolfgang, where 6,000 men were employed during the war, there are now only 440, of whom all but a hundred are employed merely in the work of destruction, which is not yet entirely finished. This factory is still allowed to manufacture celluloid cotton for industrial purposes, but its capacity has been reduced to one-sixth of the former output and the celluloid products are delivered only to direct consumers. A plant for the manufacture of wall-papers and the like is under construction and repairs to railway engines and trucks are being temporarily undertaken.

At the former army workshops at Spandau, which, with

* The German Federation of Trade Unions recently invited a group from the Allied and neutral countries to visit the former arms and munition factories of Germany. The party that accepted included seven labor men—Tom Moore and Arthur Martel, president and vice-president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada; Leon Jouhaux, secretary of the French Confederation of Labor; Arthur Pugh, secretary of the British iron and steel trades union; Signor Bianchi of the Italian Confederation of Labor; Archibald Crawford, secretary of the South African Industrial Federation; and Keichi Matsumoto, from Japan. Three Americans, Messrs. de Fridman-Kochevskoi, Lawrence Slade, and A. H. Olmsted, represented the International Chamber of Commerce at Paris. The Canadian Government was represented by Gerald H. Brown and W. R. Rollo, the Japanese Government by Professor Yeizo Yahagi, the Japanese employers by Seki Hoshino, and the Brazilian Government by Senhor Da Silva Braga. The press representatives were Colonel McHugh, of the London *Daily Telegraph;* M. Schicklen, of the *Petit Parisien;* Sven Backlund, of the Swedish socialist press; Dr. Moos, of the Swiss Telegraphic Agency; Dr. Halperin, Berlin correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung;* and Robert Dell.

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Krupp's works at Essen, were the center of the German war industry, the number of employees has been reduced from 71,000 to 10,000. This immense establishment, which is like a small town, in the middle of which the rivers Spree and Havel unite, is divided into seven sections. One of these, the powder factory, is in process of being destroyed. In the former gun foundry big shafts, crankshafts, and connecting-rods for steamships, engines, and locomotives are being manufactured and instead of crucible steel ordinary cast-iron is produced. In the former artillery factory are being made agricultural machinery and various household articles. In the former ammunition factory war material is melted down and transformed into ingots. The machine-gun factory is producing a small sporting-gun for boys, with its ammunition. The Spandau establishment of the Deutsche Werke also turns out railway material, artificial limbs, parts of bicycles, and a very attractive motor-cycle. Locomotives and railway carriages are repaired there.

The Datchau works at Munich make agricultural machinery and railway carriages. At Erfurt a boy's sporting-gun and an automatic pistol with a short range are produced and machinery of a new model is being installed for the manufacture of typewriters. The number of employees, which was 13,000 during the war, is now 2,850. Krupp's works at Essen, the Neuermeier works at Munich, and the vast Siemens works at Berlin are as exclusively devoted to peace production as the former state arsenals now belonging to the Deutsche Werke. The disarmament of Germany is complete. The fiction that Germany was the only militarist country is evidently exploded; if German militarism was the only danger, against whom or what are all the other countries of Europe now armed?

If, however, it be asked whether Germany has been rendered incapable of ever arming again, the question must of course be answered in the negative. No country with great metallurgical and chemical industries can be made incapable of arming. In six months or a year German industry could be adapted to war productions as British industry was six years ago. M. Briand's assertion that Germany could put into the field and equip an army of several million men in a few weeks was too silly to be taken seriously, but when the Allied control ceases Germany will be able to arm again if she so desires. There is only one way of making it impossible for Germany ever to arm again and that is to destroy German industry. There are people in France quite prepared to go to that length, if one may judge by recent articles in the *Temps*.

The important question is whether the Germans will wish to arm again when the control ceases. The answer to that question depends on the Allies. At present Germany is, so far as the vast majority of her people are concerned, morally as well as materially disarmed. The militarist party is stronger than one would like it to be in Bavaria, but elsewhere in Germany it has almost no hold except on the upper classes and in the universities. Prussia and Saxony are the most anti-militarist parts of Germany. One of the most remarkable changes in Germany is the complete disappearance of military pomp and indeed of all external manifestations of militarism. In this country where one used to meet uniforms at every turn one sees nobody in uniform except policemen, postmen, and railway officials. During a fortnight in Germany I saw soldiers only once, near Munich. In Berlin there were not even sentries before the public buildings. I walked into the courtyard of the Chancellery in the Wilhelmstrasse without being challenged or questioned and rang the front-door bell as I should have done at any private house. A whole generation of young Germans will grow up without having seen the pomp and display that make militarism attractive. At the moment no people is less militarist than the German people and no country that I know is so free as Germany. "We can breathe now," said one of my German friends, "in spite of the consequences of the defeat, whereas throughout the war we always felt that, if Germany had the victory, we should be obliged in the future to salute every lamp-post." The mischief is that the inevitable consequences of the war have been aggravated by the peace and that the German people feels that it could not have been worse treated had it stuck to the Kaiser and the generals. The policy of the Allies toward Germany is the chief asset of the German militarist party, and if that policy continues for several years one cannot say what its effect will be on the temper of the German people.

The responsibility for the policy is attributed in Germany principally to France, not entirely with justice. I told all the Germans I met that they were too severe on France and too lenient toward England. England could do far more than she has done to remedy the situation. Among the things that must go is the occupation of German territory, at any rate on the present absurdly extensive scale, and the present system of control over the former war factories, which only produces an irritation which may end in defeating its very object. General Nollet, the head of the French section of the Commission of Control, wishes to eradicate from the German workman the skill necessary to make war material and even the tools required to produce it. Only a general could entertain such a notion. Yet that was the reason given for the order of the commission that the manufacture at Erfurt and Spandau of sporting-guns and automatic pistols must cease on March 31. To a deputation of Erfurt workmen who waited on General Nollet and assured him that they would not consent to manufacture war material the general replied that he might take their word for it, but what about their children? The workmen, it is true, declare that the factories of the Deutsche Werke are much more hardly treated than private establishments and that the Commission of Control is in league with French and German capitalists against them. It is alleged in support of this charge that the Commission of Control is not interfering with the manufacture of sporting-guns by a private firm at Suhl and by the firm of Gustav Gentschow. It is said that the order of the commission will throw more than 2,000 men out of work. General Nollet says that they can easily find other work, and one of his subordinates is reported to have advised them to go and dig potatoes.

The difficulties of conducting industries under such conditions are obvious. It hardly seems necessary to employ expensive generals and military staffs for work which could well be done by a dozen experts with power to visit any factory without notice, to see that no war material was being made, but without the arbitrary powers of the Commission of Control to hamper peaceful production. For some reason the work of control seems to be chiefly done by French officers with the result that France gets all the odium of it. There is a strong feeling that France is aiming at the destruction of German industry or at any

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rate of the Deutsche Werke through the Commission of Control.

The vast majority of the German people have had enough of war, for no belligerent people suffered more from it as a whole. The invasion of northern France affected personally only a minority of the French people. The English non-combatant population suffered only from air raids. The American non-combatant population did not suffer at all. The whole German non-combatant population, with very few exceptions, suffered for three years from semi-starvation. It is for that reason that the mass of the German people has become so anti-militarist. But if the German people is persecuted as it is at present for fifteen years it may be driven to exasperation. French policy runs the risk of creating the very danger that it is trying to avert before it exists.

Anti-French feeling in Germany dates from the armistice. France was never unpopular in Germany during the war. The Germans felt that France was tied to Russia and could not help herself, whereas England had gratuitously declared war. It is the attitude of the French since the armistice, especially in the occupied territory, that has changed German feeling. Count Lerchenfeld complained that in the Palatinate the French quartered 8,000 soldiers on a small town of 20,000 inhabitants where there was no room for them, that they took schools for military purposes, and that when the Bavarian Government had built flats for French officers the captains took the flats intended for the colonels and the majors, who demanded that inhabitants should be turned out of their homes for their benefit. He also said that the number of the occupying forces was unnecessarily large—there are 86,959 French troops on the Rhine and 7,765 in the Saar Valley—and that the men, having nothing to do, do mischief. Their pay is enormous in German marks—a lieutenant has about the same salary as the German President—and they live in a luxury that scandalizes and exasperates the population.

The Germans sensibly forgive the blockade, because they think it quite natural that in war one should try to do as much harm as possible to the enemy country. But they cannot understand what possible French interest can be served by a policy of pin-pricks and constant irritation which merely stirs up hatred against France. They consider French policy foolish from the French point of view.

The way to peace in Europe is, as before the war, by an understanding between England, France, and Germany. The duty of England is to save France from herself and reconcile her to Germany. Mr. Lloyd George could probably do it, for his popularity in Germany is immense, in spite of the soreness about the Upper Silesian decision, as to which the Germans feel that Mr. Lloyd George let them down. When England has renounced the indemnity and the war debts, she can turn to France and ask her to abandon the costly and irritating occupation of German territory, to reduce the indemnity to the restoration in kind of the devastated region, to suppress the futile Military Commission of Control in favor of the real security that would be given by an understanding in which Italy—and one hopes also the United States—would join with England, France, and Germany in a mutual guaranty of peace.

The Peril of the Indemnities

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

THE reasons which have paved the way to a revision of the Treaty of Versailles, and which have brought to the support of revision powerful business interests in both Great Britain and France, are mainly three. The first and most potent is the threatened bankruptcy of Germany. The array of experts whom the Wilson-Clemenceau-Lloyd George triumvirate assembled at Paris apparently failed to perceive, while piling up sanctions and specifications, that defeated Germany might revenge itself upon its enemies not by secretly preparing for another war but by deliberately going into liquidation. The second reason is the persistent refusal of the United States to ratify the Treaty of Versailles or to have anything to do with the enforcement of its penalty provisions, and the conclusion by the United States of separate treaties of peace with Germany and Austria. The third is the sharply contrasted and on the whole irreconcilable views of the British and French Governments regarding the proper method of dealing with the European situation in general and the German situation in particular.

Of these three influences the last is in many respects the most important. The attitude of the present Government of France toward Germany is not one in regard to which the American public can have any doubt, for it has lately been set forth officially by no less an authority than M. Briand himself in his speech at the Washington Conference. Whatever the reasons which induced M. Briand to go to Washington in the face of strong opposition at home and whatever reply is to be made to the criticism, now made openly in the French press, that he took advantage of the occasion to speak at length on a subject which was not before the Conference and with which the Conference was in fact not concerned, the fact remains that the speech presented the official view of the French Government in its true light, without apology or mincing. That policy is compounded of two elements, and of two only: profound fear of Germany as a military Power, and determination to make Germany pay what the Treaty of Versailles prescribed.

France has not forgotten the repeated limitations which have been imposed, first by the Reparation Commission and later at successive meetings of the Supreme Council, upon its demands for indemnity. It has failed to obtain by conference and diplomacy what it desires and what it feels belongs to it of right, and for much of its failure it holds Mr. Lloyd George responsible. But it has the largest and best-equipped army in the world, in support of which the budget for 1922 will carry credits of between four and five milliards of francs; and its only language now toward Germany is that of force. It has already once extended the zone of Allied occupation by itself taking military possession of Frankfort and a number of other towns; a few months ago it forced the German Government to yield by massing troops for the occupation of the Ruhr; and its troops are ready to advance again if Germany does not pay.

To this irreconcilable attitude of the French Government, paraded for public purposes whenever official statements

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about the German indemnities are made, the policy of the Lloyd George Government has for months been more and more sharply opposed. There are several better reasons for this than the one which the French press, which almost without exception is bitterly hostile to England, is fond of mentioning, namely, that Great Britain is in no immediate peril from Germany and hence can afford to be lenient. Fear for the safety of its colonies, dominions, or spheres of influence has indeed been a weighty factor at times in British foreign policy, but fear for the safety of the British Isles has never counted for much save as an argument for keeping up the fleet. The inherent opposition of the Government of Mr. Lloyd George and that of France rests upon more solid grounds. For one thing, there still survives in England enough of the sportsman spirit to know when the fight is over and to desire, once the honors have been awarded, to drop the matter and get to work. Englishmen have long political memories, but on the whole they are not given to cherishing grudges. Further, there is a strong desire in England to recover the trade with Germany and Russia which the war temporarily destroyed, and to regain for English industry and commerce the commanding position in European and world markets which they once enjoyed. Whatever the amount or kind of indemnities which Germany shall ultimately be forced to pay, the manufacturers and merchants and shipbuilders and bankers of Great Britain see no reason why trade with Germany and Russia should not be developed to the highest point that will be advantageous to either country, and they are moreover wise enough to see that there is much more likelihood of receiving adequate reparations with trade than without it.

To France, which has but little foreign trade and little inherent capacity for developing foreign markets, the argument from trade is only the argument of an assertive self-interest; while as for the sportsmanlike feeling which most Englishmen exhibit, the most that can be said is that for France—official and political France—the war with Germany is still going on. There is another argument, however, which comes nearer to touching the heart of the French policy. Great Britain frankly fears the consequences of further occupation of German territory by French troops. Men who have studied the German situation most attentively—I could name one such very close to the Reparation Commission if naming were not forbidden—are convinced that the occupation of Frankfort was a grave mistake, and that any further occupation for whatever reason, especially if so important a region as the mining and manufacturing area of the Ruhr were entered, would put an end to orderly government in Germany and plunge the country into anarchy. The downfall of government in Germany would be attended by repercussions which would be felt in disorder and war throughout the world.

There are no illusions in England, and there should be none in America, as to what the French policy of a heavy hand with Germany may lead to, and it is perfectly clear that Mr. Lloyd George is determined to check that policy if he can. There can be no question, moreover, that official France sees clearly enough that further occupation would put the German Government in peril, and that it is counting upon the strength and preparedness of the French army, not to save Germany from chaos but to plant French power securely upon the wreck. On the fundamental ground of policy, accordingly, France and Great Britain are at the parting of the ways. The Government of Mr. Lloyd George has many sins to answer for, and Mr. Lloyd George himself certainly did his full share at Paris in 1919 in making possible the present acute situation, but it is nevertheless true that the policy of Great Britain at the moment is the policy of peace and restoration, while the policy of France is that of provocation to anarchy if not to war.

Hence the demand for a revision of so much at least of the Treaty of Versailles as has to do with reparations, and for the reconsideration of any other provisions which threaten international accord and the recovery of economic health and sanity. If France, which pleads almost daily its need of German money at the same time that it goes on piling up expenditures for its military establishment, can be brought to see that only a Germany which is economically sound and prosperous can pay, if it can be induced to readjust and lighten the reparations provisions of the treaty of 1919, and if it can be persuaded to abandon the mischievous policy of threatening the use of its army every time a controversy with Germany arises, it will do credit to the better spirit which at present finds little expression in its Government, and will enhance its beneficent influence in world affairs. If not, the other Powers may act without it, and its splendid isolation will be complete. No friend of France can fail to hope that France may do what it is abundantly capable of doing if it will.

Where stands America in relation to this approaching readjustment? The Washington Conference has not added to American prestige in France nor has it caused America to be better loved in England. The result which England most desired and France most dreaded, a political understanding between the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, has actually come to pass, but the share in that understanding accorded to France is too unimportant to count. The readiness of Mr. Hughes to grant to Japan weeks for the consideration of certain difficult questions, while urging immediate replies by cable from France, did not pass unnoticed on the other side of the Atlantic. What has happened in France is that fear of America has appreciably increased—fear of American power, fear of American wealth, fear of the obvious purpose of America to take its own course, fear of Anglo-Saxon domination of Europe as well as of Asia and the Pacific from the alliance of Great Britain and the United States, fear lest in any controversy with Germany American influence may be thrown on the German side of the scale.

Perhaps it is well, for the moment at least, that this is so. Perhaps it is well that the detached and matter-of-fact mind of America should be brought to bear upon a problem for which no sure solution has yet been found. Statesmen who have spent their lives in the tangled meshes of European politics tend to lose their sense of perspective, to rely upon formalities and precedents rather than upon common sense, and to let their nerves overbalance their judgment. It will certainly be well if for a time economics can take the place of politics, and the restoration of sound and healthy economic life supersede the demand for the pound of flesh. No nation is so well fitted as is the United States to ask plain questions of Germany about its resources and its plans, or of France about its military expenses and its budget. The only thing that will hinder the full exercise of American influence, when the question of reparations comes to be reconsidered, will be the presence of American representatives in the conference not as members but merely as "observers." The day of the American "observer" has passed. What is needed is spokesmen with mandates to act.

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Women in Modern Germany

By MARIAN P. WHITNEY

FOR it is a new Germany. Do not let yourself be misled by the alarmist press of our own or other countries with its constant suggestion of a Germany which is a danger to civilization, which feigns suffering, weakness, and reform only in order to be able suddenly to rise again in new strength and deal her enemies another and more deadly blow. A few hours in the country with seeing eyes will prove to anyone that the old prosperous, materialistic, and militaristic Germany is really a thing of the past.

It is not only the outward appearance of things—the thin figures which used to be so round, the pale faces which used to be so ruddy, the city streets with their few and shabby conveyances, the shops with their meager display of goods at huge prices in marks. It is not even the almost total disappearance of the uniforms which formerly brightened every street scene in Germany. More striking is the inner change, the absorption of everyone in the questions of the day, the constant talk of policies and politics in a nation which used to be content to leave all such matters to the Government.

Nothing shows so vividly the reality of this deep-seated change or revolution as the almost complete disappearance of the officer from public view and the emergence of the German woman into public life. In the country where woman has always been relegated to the sphere of *Küche, Kirche, und Kinder*, the first election after the adoption of the new Constitution in May, 1919, put thirty-nine women into the National Assembly and 155 into the legislatures of the various states making up the Federal Republic, while 1,400 were elected municipal or county councilors, corresponding to our aldermen or selectmen. Compare with this America with her one woman in Congress, and England with her one feminine M. P.! In the new parliamentary elections of last June, after demobilization had thrown so many more men into public life, there were still thirty women elected to the Reichstag and the number in state and municipal office is proportionately large, about 11 per cent of all city councils in October, 1921, being women.

It was interesting to me to be present at the last session of the first Reichstag of the new Republic, in the magnificent hall of the Reichstag Building in Berlin, and to see the plain, business-like assembly, the women scattered everywhere among the men and all going about their work as simply as if things had always been so, while my memory would turn back to the last time I had seen that hall filled with brilliant uniforms and orders as the session was opened in the presence of the Emperor, with all the pomp and glitter he loved so well. The women bear their full share in the work of the Assembly. They have places on many of the most important committees and are so much taken for granted that even the comic papers have almost forgotten to make fun of them. In Berlin during the campaign preceding the new elections in May, 1920, I was interested to see the number of women speakers advertised for the regular political meetings of all parties. I was told that the people like to hear them speak and are disappointed when there is not at least one on every program. The usual plan seemed to be to have two men and one woman speak at every meeting.

It is not only in elected offices that women have found a place in the scheme of government. Although no woman has yet been put at the head of any of the great national departments or ministries, many are filling important positions in them. Some are at the heads of bureaus. Last summer nine women held such positions of importance in the national Government, ten in those of the different federated states. Most of them are connected with the Ministries of Education, Labor, or Public Welfare. The most important of these positions is that held by Dr. Gertrud Baeumer, one of the best-known leaders of German feminism, teacher, writer, editor of *Die Frau*, and long president of the German National Council of Women. She has been put at the head of one of the great educational divisions of the Ministry of the Interior, a position which gives her great influence in shaping the whole educational policy of the nation, not only in regard to schools of all grades, but to the universities and educational institutions of every kind and degree.

A proof that Germany believes women have permanently entered political and administrative life is found in the fact that the Schule für Kommunalverwaltung (School of Municipal Administration) in Cologne is now open to women on the same terms as to men.

A bill which has been before the Reichstag and which I understand has just passed provides that henceforth a woman shall be officially attached to every German embassy, to care for the special interests of the German women traveling for business, study, or pleasure and to keep the government informed as to the activities of women in all countries. What plan could be more sensible, yet what other nation has made any such provision for the comfort and welfare of its women citizens?

As in so many other countries, notably in America, women are going more and more into social work, but in Germany it is chiefly in official positions under national, state, or city government, and several of the most important social schools for women are at least partially supported by state or municipality. The graduates find employment, not in what we know as charitable work, but as regularly salaried officials, since the new states all recognize their responsibility for the life, health, and welfare of their babies, children, and workers as well as for the hopelessly poor, criminals, and the insane.

A recent law provides for some 2,000 children's bureaus in the country which shall watch over the welfare of the child before and after birth, care for his well-being during and after his school days, see to the placing out and guardianship of dependent, orphaned, and delinquent children, thus removing the care of the child and adolescent entirely from any connection with the departments of charities and corrections. This is an object which has long been desired by many of those most concerned with the question of child welfare among us, but which has nowhere been achieved. Every community is also organizing offices for vocational guidance which are to help the young people find their proper niche in the economic world, where they can do the best work for themselves and for the nation. All these bureaus are being largely conducted by women who

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are prepared for the work in the schools already referred to. They are also acting as health officers, as inspectors of factories, milk, etc.; some are caring for out-hospital cases and many are also engaged in the administration of the government subsidies to the victims of the war, cripples, widows, and orphans.

In Germany, as in most other countries, education is less well paid than any of the other great professions, though it is acknowledged to be the most important of all for the general welfare. In this field, too, German women have made decided gains though much less than they think justice demands. The new governments have almost all swept away the laws or customs which enforced celibacy on women teachers and women office-holders. In many regions the principle of equal pay for equal work has been established, at least in theory. The women are as yet by no means on an equal footing with their male colleagues in respect to the attainment of the higher positions in the schools, whether educational or administrative. Associations of women teachers and women's clubs are constantly protesting against such discrimination and claiming that, at least in all girls' schools, the higher teaching positions and the principalship should be in the hands of women.

It was in response to such demands that the Berlin Institut für Erziehung und Unterricht is now giving a special course for training women who hold the title of *Oberlehrerin*, the highest secondary school teachers, to become directors of the so-called *Frauenschulen* or *Lyzeen*. These schools or classes are superimposed upon the special girls' schools and are supposed to give an opportunity for higher education along specially feminine lines to those who do not or cannot enter the university. It is a curious anomaly that their directors have been, up to the present time, almost entirely men. In the women's *gymnasia* which fit for the university men still hold the majority of the higher positions, only about a dozen such schools having women directors, and against this, too, women are protesting vigorously. It will take years to make the legal equality of the sexes a real one, but the women are determined that this shall be done and are standing shoulder to shoulder in working for it. Not only associations of women teachers or of women office-holders, but all the great national associations of women such as the National Council of Women, are throwing their influence into the scale, as are all the women's papers, chief among them the monthlies *Die Frau* and *Die Frau im Staat*, and *Neue Frauenzeit*, issued tri-weekly in Berlin, a real newspaper for women.

University study has long been open to women on the same terms as men, but the professions have not been equally hospitable. A woman might study medicine and pass her examinations, but it was almost impossible for her to get the necessary early practical experience. Now it is proposed to reserve for women a certain percentage of positions as internes in all hospitals and they are being appointed to certain positions under the government though the jealousy of their male competitors has until now practically excluded them from a share in the administration of the state health insurance.

The legal profession has guarded itself even more closely against the entrance of women. A woman might gain the title of doctor of laws, and enter upon some kinds of office work, but any higher posts were closed to her before the revolution, since she was not allowed to take the state examinations which alone give access to bench and bar. At present the first examination is open to her. She may occupy minor positions in the administration of the laws, but may not take the higher examination or act as prosecuting attorney or as judge. It is expected, however, that these barriers will soon be removed.

Several women are now giving courses at the universities as privatdozent, one or two even bear the title of professor. Quite a number are studying theology and several have been lately installed as pastor's assistants. In spite of the general poverty which strikes more hardly than anywhere else the members of the salaried middle classes and the intellectuals of Germany, and in spite of the over-crowding of all learned professions due largely to the return to Germany of a great part of the administrative, educational, and official classes of the territories taken from her by the Treaty of Versailles, women are entering the universities in ever-increasing numbers. We cannot wonder at this, however, when we remember that there is scarcely a family left in Germany which can venture to bring up its daughters without providing them with the means of self-support. Women students are suffering even more than men under the terrible privations of the present moment. A recent number of the *Die Frau* appeals to women's clubs to help these students by supplying them with rooms or free meals, lest they fail in the unequal struggle and all the fruits of the long efforts of women for educational and professional equality be lost.

The German Housewives' League, which has over 1,000,000 members in the country, and over 20,000 in Berlin alone, is preparing to take a vigorous part in building up the life of the new nation. Three of its members sat with the committee of the Reichstag which drew the new laws for the regulations of domestic service in the country. In the cities, where servants have become almost as scarce and as dear as they are with us, the women are organizing employment agencies especially for women who are willing to go out for a few hours a day for domestic service, sewing, cleaning, etc. Few people realize what a burden the German wife and mother is bearing, trying to do all the work of her family, generally with a complete lack of what we call modern conveniences and without the training which has been forced upon our women by generations of inadequate "help." The difficulty is increased by the fact that a maid is classed as a luxury and taxed as such, a second maid being taxed three times as heavily as the first. When we remember that a mark which used to be worth twenty cents is now worth but a fraction of one, and that in all but the richest families the whole income must go to getting food and even then in inadequate quantities, we begin to realize what these women are "up against." The Housewives' League is trying, by all sorts of means, to help the wife and mother under these new burdens. It is urging and planning new apartment houses, with more modern conveniences and with the so-called "living kitchen," a kitchen which shall be the pleasantest and not the darkest and ugliest room in the house, and which shall serve also as the family living room, so that the mother will not be cut off from the family life. This is only a revival of the old-fashioned farm kitchen with which we are all so familiar, which was always the center of the household. Other houses are being planned with a common kitchen and dining-room and a possibility of some form of cooperative housekeeping for families where the mother is employed in gainful occupation, and the number of such is constantly increasing as the price of food

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rises and the family income decreases in purchasing power. The League is also using its influence to support the Government in its efforts to increase the food supply of the country, to prevent the crowding out of wheat and rye by more lucrative crops, such as sugar and tobacco. In short, housewives no less than professional women are taking their share in the huge task of rebuilding the national life on new foundations.

One can but admire these women who, though bowed down by domestic loss and national humiliation, faced by almost desperate economic conditions, and worn by privations of which those who have not seen Germany since the war can have no conception, can still find courage and determination to go on with their work and to plan for their country.

Republican Germany and the Arts

By LUDWIG LEWISOHN

IT was in 1871 that Matthew Arnold in the series of brilliantly ironical letters called "Friendship's Garland" pointed out to his countrymen the remarkable and, as it seemed to him, saving preoccupation of the Germans with *Geist*—with the concerns of the mind and the spirit. The hungry and distracted republic of today has little left in common with the empire of 1871 except precisely that preoccupation, that impassioned desire to comprehend and to reshape through thought or art both man and nature. The difficult years that have passed since the armistice and the revolution have not produced such solid and permanent works as undoubtedly adorned the politically bankrupt Wilhelmian period. But the activity in all the arts is intense and enormous. And it is not an activity for gain—there is none to be had—nor even for reputation, but springs from the profound though often feverish desire to grasp the world anew and to find forms in art that are to be expression and salvation at once. Such is the twofold inner spirit of that expressionistic movement—*Ausdruckskunst*—which, despite its myriad varying shapes, serves to clarify and guide one's view of the arts in Germany today.

The superficial view of the tourist may easily miss all the phenomena of this essential life of the nation. In the Berlin of the profiteers he may note the Americanization of the cabarets and the fact that both "Kiki" and "Potash and Perlmutter" are being successfully performed. He may neglect the less advertised productions of Hebbel and Ibsen and Hauptmann and of new plays by Johst or Wildgans or Kokoschka, Hasenclever or Sternheim or Kaiser. He is almost certain not to read the intensely serious and subtle weekly or monthly periodicals wholly dedicated to the art of the drama: *Das blaue Heft, Komödie, Die Schaubühne.* Nor is he likely to gather the little paper-bound volumes of the two series called Der dramatische Wille and Dramatische Bibliothek unserer Jüngsten. Thus he may not learn a fact of the first importance, namely, that in Germany today the drama, for the first time in centuries, is seeking and finding new forms to embody its new intentions and that the actual production of these plays is attempted because modern German stage-craft has always sought to serve and never to imprison or limit the dramatist and his work.

In the fields of poetry and prose fiction the significant facts are neither to be grasped nor set forth so simply. A rich and intense lyrical movement with Franz Werfel at its head seeks to unite a fearless contact with all reality with an equally fearless exploration of the inner life. Except by the ecstatic extremists free verse has been not so much abandoned as transcended in favor of the creation of new and more personal rhythms through forms comparatively fixed. This poetry is almost wholly pacifist and humanitarian in spirit. But its pacifism and humanitarianism are rarely facile or polite. They arise from a bitter experience that has been philosophically grasped and interpreted. The novel, the common entertainment of the masses, lags behind poetry and the drama. The horrible and the fantastic have, as in the books of Gustav Meyrink, attained a wide popularity, and both the harmless and the erotic lady novelist continues to flourish. But side by side with these we find the enormous editions attained by the works of such artists as Thomas Mann and Jakob Wassermann and single books, Arnold Ulitz's "Ararat," for instance, that seek to grapple in an astonishingly original manner with the most perplexing problems of our age.

More significant for the broader intellectual life of the nation than the production of new works is the dissemination of great literature. Amid poverty and hunger this dissemination has assumed new proportions in the German republic. During the past three years there have been issued new collected editions of practically all native and foreign authors of first and second rank. For astonishingly little one may buy a complete Dostoevski or Tolstoi, Strindberg or Wedekind, Ranke or Fichte, Hölderlin or Heine, Nietzsche or Hauptmann or Schnitzler. Quite minor modern writers like Peter Altenberg may be had in a little set of admirable volumes. Yet the paper shortage is so constant and acute that no German publisher would dare to set out upon these ventures without the assurance of a sale that fills our American publishers with amazement and envy. In addition, new series of books are constantly springing up. And all of these series, like the latest ventures of the Insel-Verlag or the charming little art books of the Delphin-Verlag in Munich, have a profoundly and often subtly cultural aim. Thus there is a cheap series of foreign masterpieces—English, French, Russian—in the original tongues and exquisitely illustrated volumes on all aspects, ancient and modern, of the plastic and pictorial arts. Alexander Koch still publishes his *Kunst und Dekoration* and the familiar Blaue Bücher and Seemann's Künstlermappen, a little more cheaply executed than before the war, are still announced in first editions of one hundred thousand.

The shrunken and impoverished public that makes these ventures possible does not limit itself to the aesthetic or the literary. Echoes of the public success of solid and brilliant philosophical works, primarily of Keyserling's "Reisetagebuch eines Philosophen," have reached us. What has scarcely reached us is the fact that German scholarship, never as wholly given over to dry research as has been thought, has achieved two triumphs in quite recent years—the new Shakespeare versions of Franz Gundolf and the centenary translation of the Divine Comedy by Hans Geisow. The latter is marvelously fresh and attractive. The specialist may deny its Dantesque character. It promises to do for Dante in the twentieth century what Pope did for Homer in the eighteenth by refashioning the poet in the idiom and spirit of our age.

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The Entente and the Burgenland

By DOROTHY THOMPSON

THE treaties of St. Germain and the Trianon, which made such an appalling hack-work of Central and Southeastern Europe, after depriving Austria of her arms and legs, sought to compensate her for the loss of these essential members by bestowing upon her a tail in the form of West Hungary. From the first, the Austrians displayed no enthusiasm over this acquisition. They are an exceedingly sophisticated people, and humorous, even in their misery. Facing complete collapse, they saw no salvation in the Burgenland—as West Hungary was to be called when it became Austrian. In the cabarets and coffee houses of Vienna they made jokes about it. "Let the Burgenland join the Borgenland," they punned.

Moreover, they were not blind to dangers inherent in the transfer. To acquire the Burgenland a finger had to be lopped from obstreperous Hungary. Austria knew that her neighbor would yowl fearfully at the operation, and could take revenge. She might, for instance, boycott Austria in food. The Burgenland could not compensate for this. It yields an inconsiderable surplus over the needs of its own population. Its chief value to Hungary lies in the industries of its largest city, Sopron (Oedenburg), but these derive their raw materials from other sections of Hungary, and Austria hardly has need of sugar factories without beets.

There was no great moral issue involved in the Burgenland dispute. Austria's claim was purely a legal one—that the territory had been ceded her by the treaty. True, the population was, roughly speaking, two-thirds German. But the Burgenland had been an integral part of Hungary for a thousand years. The Germans there had not been conquered and subjected. They had been settled there, by the first Hungarian king, Stephen, who considered them a desirable population and offered them concessions in the way of land. The German minority in Hungary is probably the only national minority which has never been oppressed. Throughout the whole controversy national rights were never an issue, and national feelings were not played upon. The Pan-Germans urged the West Hungary residents to join Austria in the hope of an eventual German union and the substitution of the mark for the krone. The Hungarians urged them to keep away from the Austrian Communists who would confiscate their property. The few Austrian Social Democrats who half-heartedly participated in the controversy—they themselves favored a plebiscite—used the argument of escape from the reactionary Horthy Government, but with small success, since the reaction received its strongest support from this territory. The insurgents, who poured into West Hungary from Hungary proper, and particularly from the other lost territories—Slovakia, Transylvania, and the Banat—could not inflame the Hungarians against the Austrians at all. They had to say to the peasants, as one insurgent said to me, "This is not resistance against Austria; it is a fight against bolshevism." Austria *does* look communistic beside Hungary; so much can be done by mere contrast!

The whole controversy was artificial. It was not even a case of the victorious taking their spoils from the conquered, as when Czechs, Jugoslavs, and Rumanians took their pound of flesh from Hungary. An adjustment of the question could have been made peaceably. Why wasn't it?

Because the Entente was trying to keep its "face" and preserve its "prestige." Because the Little Entente, reared by the great Powers for themselves, which also had an interest in West Hungary as a means of communication between Jugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia, insisted that the Entente *should* preserve its prestige. The treaty had to be enforced, otherwise the inviolability of all the treaties would be open to question. Poor Austria, rattling the sabers of others, demanded her territory. Official Hungary, not greatly worried as to what the Entente would do—did she not have her own private dealings with France?—but a little uncomfortable at the noise made by the Jugoslavs and Czechs, yielded. But unofficial Hungary, for long organized into irresponsible military detachments, some of which had been armed by the Entente military missions back in 1919 when bolshevism and the possible return of Bela Kun were the bugbears, marched into West Hungary, repelled the Austrian gendarmes who came hopefully in to take possession, and subsequently went through all the motions made familiar by D'Annunzio, swearing never to leave the country alive, declaring the land an independent free state with proclamations and officials and an escutcheon of its own; incidentally making the disinterested population thoroughly miserable. The result of this slap in the face of the Entente was the conference at Venice between Hungary and Austria, called under Italian protection, at which Hungary agreed to clear out the insurgents (she, who had throughout maintained a pious dissociation from them, and had sworn she could not control them!) and make it possible for Austria peaceably to take over "Zone A," the countryside; at the same time Austria agreed to a plebiscite in "Zone B," the city of Oedenburg and its environs—the plebiscite to be taken while Major Osztenburg, of the official Hungarian army, occupied the city with 1,200 Hungarian troops, under Entente control!*

What was the position of the Entente in West Hungary? Outwardly seeking to preserve a show of unity, internally it pulled as many wires as it had members. The French, outwardly proclaiming the inviolability of the treaties, with an eye to Versailles, were really horrified at the Pan-German propaganda which was the best argument to support the enforcing of this particular treaty. Britain, highly uncomfortable at her undignified position, was cynical and disinterested. Italy, fearing the strengthening of her Slavic neighbors, Jugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia, who are allies only in name, was for a compromise. The raggedest insurgent felt that France was friendly to him. The lack of solidarity was patent to everyone. "Keep Miss Thompson away from the British," said the Hungarian press agent to a friend of mine who was acting as my interpreter in West Hungary. "They are less friendly to us than the others."

The British General Gorton took me to Eisenstadt, a small town which was the headquarters for the band of insurgents led by the former Hungarian premier, Stephen Friedrich. We had tea with the French General Michel, on the second floor of the Esterhazy castle, which he occupied as head of the Entente mission in that territory. On the first floor of the same castle, directly under the Entente rooms, the insurgents held their headquarters, and planned their campaigns, and brought their captives to trial. And

* At the election "Zone B" voted to join Hungary.

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somewhere in the basement, held as "war hostages," were half a dozen of the Austrian gendarmerie who had marched hopefully into West Hungary to take it over as the gift of the Entente to Austria. In Pinkafeld, where the notorious White terrorist of post-communist days, Colonel Paul Pronay, had his headquarters as chief of insurgents and founder of the "Free and Neutral State of Lajta," I traveled with the British Captain Trotter, who was able to tour the country because whenever we were held up by a green-hatted "bandit" he could produce a "legitimation" from their chief, Pronay himself, stating that the Entente representative might be allowed to pass! In Felsör I had the pleasure of hearing a half dozen Austrian prisoners, who were paraded out pridefully by the insurgents, give an indignant dressing down to the Entente, in the presence of the English officer who had led them into the country. The British major in charge of the city of Oedenburg had become engaged to marry the daughter of a Hungarian prince, who was one of the chief intriguers with the "bandits." Nor were family relations in the least strained.

Does it pay to be good? That is the question which all discontented sections of Central and Southeastern Europe are asking themselves as the result of this incident. Austria, which weakened the *Anschluss* movement on the promise of credits—and did not get the credits—which trusted the Entente's sword and found it only a scabbard, has her opinion. Hungary, which chuckles with satisfaction that she broke the Trianon treaty with a handful of "bandits," has her opinion. And all of us who watch the course of events in that part of the world wonder where the bubbling caldron will boil over next.

The New Germany

By HANS GOSLAR

THERE is hardly a parallel in European history to the swift, thoroughgoing, fundamental change which has taken place in the political life of the new Germany. Imagine a country that for hundreds of years was accustomed to a monarchic form of government, which in certain parts—for instance in her greatest province, Prussia—even submitted to a feudal aristocracy, suddenly turning republican.

When in the late fall of 1918 the old Germany collapsed and the Socialist Party was the first to come to its rescue, the form of government suggesting itself as a matter of course was republican; especially in view of the dismal failure of the monarchical regime. To establish this inevitable republic on paper was easy enough, but it was almost unbelievably difficult to transform this paper republic into a living, working force in the life of the people. It was not only necessary to create an entirely new administrative body and a constitution unhampered by tradition, but to do all this at a time when ten to twelve million soldiers of the demobilized army were returning from France, Belgium, Russia, and the Orient, imperiously demanding food and work, when Polish guerrilla bands were invading the Province of Posen, and when the Spartacists seemed determined to precipitate a civil war.

Nevertheless, it was possible for the Nationalversammlung, the national assembly, elected at the beginning of 1919, to create the new Constitution of Weimar. Hand in hand with that went the beginning of a reorganization of the various government departments. On the whole the republic has succeeded in its legislative work and the new constitution has made of Germany, as far as the political freedom of its citizens is concerned, a country that can compare favorably with any democracy in the world.

The fundamental error of the old Germany consisted in its constitution and in the immense power that was centralized in the person of the Kaiser. The ministers and especially the Reichskanzler were not responsible to the popularly elected Parliament, but to the Emperor who appointed or dismissed them at his pleasure. And the Emperor himself was responsible to no one. The consequence was that the greater part of the people took no interest whatever in domestic politics, while as far as foreign politics were concerned the popular interest was still more torpid. Today all this has changed considerably. Both the Reichskanzler and the ministers are responsible to Parliament; they must resign if the latter refuses them a vote of confidence. If they have violated their trust they may be impeached by Parliament and must then stand trial before the Supreme Court (Staatsgerichtshof). Even the President of the Republic may be impeached; he may, furthermore, be deprived of office by a referendum vote of the whole electorate. Blind belief in authority is now a thing of the past.

Another tragic error in the old Germany was that not all classes of the population were equally eligible to the administrative body, that is, the civil service. Had that been the case the administration and the people would have kept in constant touch, making a uniform whole as it were, and internal friction would have been avoided. But unfortunately the administrative body had been a hierarchy since the time when, 250 years ago, the Great Elector laid the foundation of a Prussian-Brandenburg administration. The higher government officials were chosen exclusively from the comparatively small set of the great landed proprietors, the "Junkers"; later the families of officers became eligible for government positions, and, under Wilhelm II, a part of the new nobility, i.e., the very rich industrialists, whom he ennobled and who were unquestionably loyal, which is to say reactionary. The foremost requisite for a government career, next to the completion of the necessary law studies, was the possession of conservative political principles; one had to belong to the German Conservative Party (Deutsch-Konservative Partei), the most reactionary party of the old Germany, whose members, besides the high officials, were almost exclusively recruited from the families of officers and the great landed proprietors. It was this very party which desperately fought every political reform; it was the party which worked persistently against the equal, secret, and direct ballot demanded by the Liberals as part of a true parliamentary government.

When, therefore, through the revolution, the Socialist Party and the democratic bourgeoisie were faced, in November, 1918, with the necessity of stepping into the place of the runaway Emperor and the collapsed government and of assuming the governmental power, a difficult position confronted the new men. They had prominent and experienced parliamentarians who were well able to change from the benches of the opposition to the cushioned chairs of the ministers, but the administrative body with which

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these ministers were compelled to work was not republican and could not be expected to be republican.

The principal sources from which these new officials could be drawn were, first, the great labor organizations and unions where the leaders and the secretaries had often had good practical training, and then the mayors and aldermen of the great cities which possessed home rule and, therefore, chose their officials from the ranks of the educated liberal bourgeoisie. A certain number of the old Prussian government officials have come to realize that the welfare of the country rests upon the success of the new Government, that the internal forces must be consolidated, and that it is best to work hand in hand with the new men in power. But on the other hand there are high officials who, although they have kept their positions, are still on the side of the monarchists and the German National People's Party (Deutsch-Nationale Volkspartei), the successor of the old German Conservative Party.

The principal problem of the new German Government, as far as domestic politics are concerned, is therefore to create, in a comparatively short time, a truly democratic and republican administrative body. The door to government service must be opened to the gifted members of all classes. Through generous endowments and scholarships, after the model America has set for us, a college and university education should be made available even for the poorest young man, provided he promises well for the future.

The parliamentary system and the new democratic-republican form of government spell an immense politico-cultural progress for Germany compared with the old system of the subject state (Untertanenstaat). It must, however, be admitted that to get the best and happiest result of this new system for the country one prime factor is still lacking: an appropriate adaptation to the new conditions of German party politics. A parliamentary system in such logical democratic formation as in the new Germany presupposes the existence of great political parties of which each one singly or, at the worst, a combination of two is capable—on account of the popular support and the hold on the masses—of assuming the governmental power. But Germany suffers from a plurality of political parties, so that a coalition of three and sometimes even four parties is necessary to form a government with a sufficiently strong parliamentary majority.

Furthermore one must take into account that in Germany the differences between the several political parties are much sharper and deeper and are argued in a much more passionate manner than in America. The German National Party (Deutsche Nationale Partei) is the party of the Protestant Church positivists, while in the great Center Party in which laborers, industrialists, merchants, and landowners are united the Roman Catholic faith is the bond of union. Thus the Socialist Party, which stands for the secular, undenominational school, is fought by the Center Party on grounds of principle, even at a time when political expediency has caused them to join hands in forming a government. In the struggle and contest for the republican form of government the Majority Socialists and the Independent Socialists, the Democrats and the greater part of the Center Party line up for the republic, while the German Nationalists are avowed monarchists, and a great part of the German People's Party holds the same monarchical views. The two Communistic groups, the United Communist Party and the Communistic Labor Party, propagate a proletarian dictatorship.

Taxation presents the utmost difficulties as long as the German parties insist on the obsolete partisan doctrine of direct, personal taxation as against indirect, general taxation. The labor parties fight against indirect taxes and the employers oppose direct ones. Unfortunately there is nowadays, when in German economic life the supply of goods is still greatly below the demand, little difference between direct and indirect taxes. The manufacturer and retailer can price his goods quite arbitrarily, and all taxation is borne, in one form or another, by the ultimate consumer. The taxation fight of the different parties leads therefore virtually into the same old rut, not the finding of ways and means to relieve the broad masses of intolerable tax burdens.

The future of the new Germany is dependent upon two things: upon republican ideas taking root among the people, and upon the economic possibilities of the country. Both are closely connected. The best-intentioned republican government is doomed to sterility and unpopularity if it has to drag the chain of the Treaty of Versailles and if the Powers which professedly want to serve the ideas of a world-democracy refuse Germany the necessary revision of the peace terms—a revision which is indispensable for the recovery of Germany and of all Europe.

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History and International Good-Will

By HARRY ELMER BARNES

I

Woe unto us! professional historians, professional historical students, professional teachers of history, if we cannot see, written in blood, in the dying civilization of Europe, the dreadful result of exaggerated nationalism as set forth in the patriotic histories of some of the most eloquent historians of the nineteenth century. May we not hope that this will be but a passing phase of historical writing, since its awful sequel is so plainly exhibited before us, and may we not expect that the historians of the twentieth century may seek rather to explain the nations of the world to each other in their various contributions to the progress of civilization and to bear ever in mind the magnificent sentiment of Goethe: "Above the nations is humanity."

THUS wrote Henry Morse Stephens—by many regarded as the most brilliant American teacher of history in the last generation—in 1916. Developments in the last six years have not produced a realization of his high ideals. The entry of the United States into the World War led inevitably to an inflation of our nationalistic complex, which was reflected in history teaching and writing. Even at this peculiarly inopportune moment there certainly exists an almost unprecedented attempt on the part of various groups in this country to force the distortion of history writing and teaching in order to further their special interests. They frankly admit that they seek to displace the truth and to substitute therefor that which is "proper" and "safe."

In contemplating at least some preliminary steps toward disarmament and the elimination of the most potent immediate causes and agencies of war, the nations of the world are approaching what may be one of the most momentous dividing-eras in the history of humanity. War, for millenniums one of the chief disciplinary factors in the social and political education of the race, has now become its chief scourge. Yet it must be remembered that any action taken to reduce the material instruments of war will be of little value unless accompanied by a transformation of those psychological attitudes which constitute the generative factors in wars and in the preparation for wars. The historian who thoughtfully approaches this problem must frankly admit with the late Professor Stephens that the past modes of teaching and writing history have been among the most influential factors in creating belligerent national attitudes and in glorifying the nature and achievements of war.

In view of the amount that has been written upon the subject, few will need any extended argument to demonstrate the great influence of the chauvinistic and highly biased historical writing and teaching of the last century in creating the state of mind which invited the crisis of 1914. This important subject has been analyzed in such works as A. Guilland's "Modern Germany and Her Historians"; J. F. Scott's "Patriots in the Making"; J. H. Rose's "Nationality in Modern History"; and John Dewey's "German Philosophy and Politics." It requires nothing beyond a reference to those incisive indictments of ultra-patriotic history writing and teaching to convince the scientifically minded reader of the disastrous results which may flow from the construction of an exuberant national epic in historical literature.

The two chief defects in historical writing which may have been revealed by the above-mentioned surveys have been an excessive emphasis on national, political, and military history—excluding social, economic, and intellectual factors—and an inaccurate and partisan statement of the unduly stressed political, diplomatic, and military history.

Germany has, perhaps, exhibited these conventional defects in historical writing more clearly than any other modern state. We have all been made familiar in the last decade with the German emphasis on political, dynastic, and diplomatic history; with the eulogy of military history, militarism, and the policy of "blood and iron"; with the stressing of the superiority of the Teutonic "Aryan" over all other races of man; with the fervid defense of the uniform rectitude of Teutonic foreign policy and insistence upon the equally unbroken record of perfidy and aggression on the part of her opponents, especially France and England. Professor Scott and others have shown, however, that French history teaching was nearly as biased, and the fact that Kipling is coauthor of a much used English textbook of history would, if it were needed, be a sufficient commentary on the status of the teaching of history in English schools.

II

The American public has been sufficiently repelled by the excesses of Germanic historiography and political theory and has been wholly capable of detecting with alacrity the presence of the cloven hoof in the doctrines and practices described above, but it has certainly failed to be on its guard against the development of similar defects in our own teaching and writing of the history of this country. We have failed to appreciate the fact that some of our greatest literary historians, such as Bancroft, have been as buoyantly patriotic and partisan as Droysen, Treitschke, or Sybel. Bancroft and Palfrey eulogized the colonists and the Revolutionary patriots. Hildreth and J. C. Hamilton made no effort to conceal their admiration for the Federalists and their policies. Bancroft detected the voice of God in the pronouncements of Jacksonian democracy. Von Holst beheld in the anti-slavery parties crusaders in behalf of a divinely appointed task. Burgess viewed the victory of the North in the Civil War as a proof of our Teutonic political genius. Fiske eulogized the new capitalistic industrialism and urged us to accept the "white man's burden" by expansion overseas. Our so-called "popular" historians have been even more blatantly nationalistic and partial, and, with a few recent and worthy exceptions, our history textbooks in the schools have exhibited about the same tendencies as have been shown to exist in the German texts.

In the colonial period the chief emphasis has been placed on the wars between England and France, while the colonial period as a whole has been looked upon as significant chiefly as a prelude to the Revolution. The Revolution has assumed something of a central or pivotal position in the American Epic, and its prominent figures have, for an alleged record of unique private and public virtue, quite overshadowed most of those who have followed them. Once the results of the Revolution had been studied—and the formation of the Constitution was usually included within its consequences—the next subject of importance was the impressment of seamen, the embargo, and the War of 1812. The period from 1815 to 1844 seemed rather sterile, for about all that could

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be found of interest in this period were the Indian wars of Jackson and William Henry Harrison. The Mexican War and its consequences in the slavery controversy served to carry the writer or teacher down to the Dred Scott decision and the preliminaries of the Civil War. The Civil War usually exhausted the historian, and courses and textbooks "petered out" with the period of Reconstruction, though, as a matter of fact, the events of the period from 1865 to 1920 have a more significant bearing upon our present problems than those of the period from 1492 to 1865. When a few pages were grudgingly allowed to the period since 1865, the writers found little place for anything save the Indian wars and Custer's Massacre, and the Spanish-American War. Upon this skeleton of wars was engrafted the history of quadrennial political campaigns, and the body of respectable historical material stood complete.

It is beside the point to urge that in the last decade a great change has come over American history writing and teaching, and that the better class of textbooks is beginning to subordinate military episodes and political scandals and to assign more space to social, economic, and intellectual history. Most of the present generation have had their historical views furnished by the older type of works. The newer and better textbooks are still studied by far fewer than peruse the older military epic, and a vigorous campaign of propaganda is being organized against these sounder textbooks.

The contrast between the arrangement and assignment of space in the conventional literary histories and textbooks and that which would be demanded in any adequate account of the development of American society can best be comprehended by summarizing the improved outline of the history of the country, such as, for example, one could find in Max Farrand's admirable sketch of "The Development of the United States." A rational survey of American history should attempt to make clear the dominant forces in each period of our development and should further indicate the dependence of these forces and tendencies upon the larger phases of the history of the modern world as a whole. The foundation of our institutions, as Professor Cheyney has well maintained, appears as a phase of that great movement which ushered in modern times—the expansion of Europe and the Commercial Revolution. The American Revolution no longer looms as an epic of deliverance but as the American aspect of the struggle which was going on in all Western society between agrarianism, despotism, and mercantilism, on the one hand, and the exponents of bourgeois parliamentary rule and the removal of commercial restrictions, on the other. It was, as Professors Hart and Van Tyne have insisted, a civil war within the British Empire, in which English and American conservatives aligned themselves against English and American liberals. The origin of national unity and our constitutional system is inseparably linked with the rise and ascendancy of the commercial classes and the origins of the industrial revolution in the cotton branch of the textile industry in New England, which, however, laid the basis for later economic sectionalism and the struggle over the tariff. At the same time, there was beginning that "rise of the New West" which Mr. Roosevelt has so vividly, and Professor Turner so profoundly, described. This was to bring into power the pioneer democracy of Jackson with its fear of the Eastern capitalists, its intelligible, if not intelligent, doctrine of the actual equality of men in political capacity, and its exploitation by the Eastern politicians like Marcy in the interest of the "spoils system." But, for the time being, both Eastern industrial expansion and Jacksonian democracy were submerged by the clash of the sections over slavery, the rise of the "slavocracy" and its struggle for new lands in the Southwest to secure fertile soil for cotton culture and to preserve its equality in the United States Senate. Coming into active conflict in the struggle of the sixties, the Civil War proved by the logic of fact, if not of history, that Webster's theory of national supremacy was correct, rather than Calhoun's doctrine of State sovereignty.

Following the Civil War came new developments of unprecedented importance. The rise of large-scale industry and the railroad expansion, 1860-1875, were far more important for American history and government than the winning of the Civil War and the consummation of reconstruction. With the rise of big business came the consequent development of the modern party "boss" as the representative of the economic potentate. Finding it, as Jay Gould said, too slow and awkward a process to deal with individual legislators, the magnate made an agreement with a "practical political specialist" to deliver a majority for desired concessions and favorable enactments and against legislation looking toward the limitation of corporate interests and initiative. This "boss," so little studied in school courses in civics, has become the most important factor in American political life, much more active and significant than any of our formal and constitutional departments of government. The settlement of the Far West and the exhaustion of the frontier have created a new sectionalism. Just as Jackson warred against the plutocrats, real and imaginary, of his day, so the Westerners in the Greenback, Granger, and Populist movements, in the Bryan democracy and Roosevelt progressivism, and in the Nonpartisan League have fought against corrupt corporate activity and economic exploitation in railroad graft, land steals, timber and mineral grabs, and financial oppression. Finally, one observes the United States, after absorbing its expansive energy for a century on the Western frontier in conquering the American continent, follow after 1898 the general world movement of national imperialism and seek investment opportunities and political control in outlying districts, particularly in the West Indies and the Caribbean region.

The contrast between this summary of the newer orientation in American history and that which has generally prevailed in school and popular circles is a full measure of the progress of historical science and of the change of historical interest and perspective among scholars in the last decade.

Nor has American history writing and teaching been at all free from the second defect of German historiography—the biased and partisan treatment of foreign relations. The German discussion of Franco-German relations can be fully matched for virus and lack of objectivity by our analysis of Anglo-American relations. It has been remarked that in most parts of the country no textbook, however excellent in other respects, could be published with financial profit if it told the truth about the real nature of the Boston Tea Party. Without in any way attempting an apology for the British policy past or present in Ireland, India, Egypt, or South Africa, one might go further and say that no textbook would be a financial success if it told the essential truth regarding any important phase of Anglo-American relations. Should a textbook state that the colonial governors

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were controlled and intimidated by the colonists' power over the purse-strings; that the perpetuation of smuggling and the dodging of English debts were major issues with the Patriots; that the Loyalists were as numerous as the Patriots and came from a distinctly higher social stratum; that the Revolution was really "won" by the victory of the Whig friends of America in the British Parliament; that the American view of the right of an Englishman to change his citizenship was shared by no other country in the period preceding the War of 1812; that the chief reason for the failure of England to effect an early repeal of restrictions on American trade in this period was the treachery of Timothy Pickering; that the United States gave out the Monroe Doctrine at British suggestion and was able to make it good only through the British warning of the European reactionaries; that England's attitude in recognizing the belligerency of the Southern States in the Civil War was admitted as the only correct version of the situation by the United States Supreme Court; or that in the Spanish-American War Great Britain was our only European sympathizer —should a textbook point all these things out the chance of that textbook running the gantlet of representatives of competing firms of publishers, or "patriotic" societies, would be slight indeed.

Or, again, without denying the remarkable French contributions to culture, what would happen to a textbook which told the truth about the motives for the French Alliance of 1778; that pointed out the fact that France opposed the liberality of the Treaty of 1783; that made it clear that France was one of the aggressors against whom the Monroe Doctrine was issued; that showed how the French Government did its best to secure armed resistance to the American occupation of Texas and the territory conquered from Mexico; that emphasized French treachery in the Civil War and the occupation of Mexico; that made it clear that the sympathy of the United States was overwhelmingly with Germany in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870; that brought out the attitude of American statesmen toward the French Canal Company and indicated the attempt of the company to corrupt American legislators; or that revealed the violent propaganda of denunciation of the United States which characterized the French press during the Spanish-American War?

Least of all would a book survive at present if it stressed the contributions of the Germans of 1848 to American liberalism; enumerated the prominent Germans on the Northern side in the Civil War; showed the American sympathy with Germany in 1870; or detailed the Germano-mania which characterized many college presidents and professors as late as 1912?

The World War has itself furnished one of the best possible illustrations of the futility of relying upon popular historical notions in interpreting international relations. The prevailing notion of the immediate causes of the war, sponsored also by some reputable historians, was that Germany deliberately took advantage of a petty diplomatic incident to plunge Europe into the war she long had planned. The political overturns in Austria, Germany, and Russia, and the capture of the national archives by the radicals in these countries, made it possible to secure immediate access to documents that would otherwise have remained secret for more than a generation. We have thus been enabled to form an accurate judgment as to the immediate responsibility for the outbreak of the war with the lapse of only an unprecedentedly short period of time. Professor Sidney B. Fay, in a series of significant articles in the *American Historical Review* (1920-21), has sifted this new evidence and has shown that the immediate guilt lay with Austria and Russia. While no sane person could deny the sinister potency of the growth of the German military obsession in creating a belligerent psychology in Europe, there is no evidence that Germany wished or willed a general European war in 1914. Diplomatic carelessness and bungling, rather than wilful aggression, put Germany in a position where war was the only way out, given the existing patterns of diplomatic procedure and military strategy. The "Potsdam Conference" of July 5, 1914, has entirely evaporated, being revealed as a myth growing out of Wangenheim's over-stimulated imagination, which was not restrained by any Volstead Act at the Ottoman Court.

III

It would appear from even this brief summary of the characteristics of our type of history writing and teaching that we have in many ways the same problems in reconstructing our approach to history which we hold that the Germans should immediately solve. We have exalted our wars and military heroes to nearly the same degree as Germany and have been nearly as guilty as she has in distorting the history of our foreign relations with both ancient rivals and traditional allies. The degree to which obstructive politicians have been able to play with success upon popular historical prejudices in the campaign against the League of Nations and in the last presidential campaign is a tragic proof of the disastrous results which still persist from these causes, to say nothing of the strife and friction which have been thereby generated in the past.

The first and most direct manner of correcting the errors in American historical writing, which are due to a patriotic bias, is to tell the truth in regard to controverted periods and problems. This much-needed step has already been taken by the critical students of American history, who have practically completed the task of telling the truth as regards military, political, and diplomatic relations with Great Britain and other countries, though the facts and interpretations brought together in such a series of books as The American Nation (Harper) have not greatly affected textbooks or popular opinion. The other method of correcting these errors is to reconstruct our whole conception of the scope of history and the relative emphasis which is to be put upon different events and factors, so that the vital forces and institutions in our national development will receive due consideration and the controverted military and diplomatic episodes thereby lose their distorting influence by their very subsidence into that subordinate position where they belong. This phase of the twofold task has hardly been adequately planned as yet, much less executed.

Not only has our industrial history been neglected, but practically every phase of American history has failed to receive the benefit of that fundamental economic, sociological, and psychological analysis which goes below the surface and reveals the vital forces upon which all institutions rest. The absence of any systematic effort to produce an intellectual history of the United States is even more evident and deplorable. The vast majority of the writings on American history have been concerned with its constitutional and legal phases, yet these have been so superficial that when a certain daring scholar attempted to show the

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basic economic forces underlying the political and constitutional development in our early national history, he was charged with near treason and sacrilege by Mr. Taft and the New York *Times*.

Gradually, however, through the reaction of the natural and social sciences on historical writing, a newer and more dynamic and synthetic history is making its appearance, and with its triumph over the older anecdotal epic there will disappear the more grotesque distortions of the conventional historical writing of the last fifty years.

If the World War has not hastened this movement of revision in our historical ideals and exposition, then we shall have failed to avail ourselves of one of the chief lessons it has taught, and will continue to maintain a peculiarly nasty stumbling-block in the way of any permanent international good-will and cooperation.

Vladimir Korolenko: 1853-1921

By AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY

CONCEIVE, gentle reader, if such remain in these dour days, of a world where rude Force bows before defenseless human Dignity, where the quotidian rack and the screw and the wheel cannot crush nor squeeze nor break their victim's protesting spirit, where, however troubled the waters run through the night, a clear candle shines from afar upon the callous-handed oarsman, a world where even the children are kind. Conceive further of a man moving in this world, among the familiar furniture of a perfectible society, and cumbered with the many cares of a public-spirited Martha, a soul as firm and sweet as a sound apple: lacking, peradventure, the fine foreign flavor of the pine-apple, a remarkably round substantial fruit, nourishing, and succulent withal. Picture such a man, if you will—his eyes a little weary from having watched so many prisoners behind the lockless gates of famine and oppression, but still shining with a serene faith in the trinity of the good, the true, and the beautiful. And those old feet of his that know so many roads—leading through the bare Siberian tundras and into the mean Main Streets of the provinces—feet that were tireless on errands of justice and kindness. Take his right hand, the second finger a little lumpy from the pressure of his veteran pen. Do you see him now—Vladimir Korolenko?

With his passing passed not the man alone but a tradition of thinking and writing. There is a double death here. He was the last of that race of writers who used their talents as though they were homeopathic medicine chests, stocked with the poultices of pity and the cordials of kindness. It was these men who nursed the civic spirit and kept social ethics alive. As for Korolenko, he was one of the few who was not torn between the impulse of the artist and the fervor of the reformer. He was like a comfortable house, where the publicist and the poet lived amicably together, liking the same temperature and the same opinions.

The outside world is accustomed to regard the literature of Russia as expressive of a vexed, dissatisfied, probing spirit, rising in its search to ecstatic altitudes and tumbling thence to the depths of inspissated gloom—a morbid spirit this, and dangerous in its wanderings from the lighted circle of our diurnal desks and dinners and diversions. An acquaintance with Korolenko, and with his literary lineage, which begins with Pushkin, would banish this misemphasis. This poised, cheerful, busy fellow was eminently what one of his compatriots calls a normative individual, with inexhaustible moral health and all the sanative insipidity of optimism. In a word, to use Herr Professor Nietzsche's convenient idiom, Korolenko shows us an Apollonian where we expect to find nothing but a frenzied Dionysian crew.

It belongs to the Apollonian character to possess abundantly the social virtues. And so Korolenko, believing in everybody's right to happiness, insisted that it must be a good happiness which includes one's neighbor, and not a bad, exclusive, each-for-himself-and-the-devil-take-the-hindmost happiness. He fought for this good happiness with the stubborn idealism of a Don Quixote. But he was a practical Don Quixote. He showed in his make-up an altogether un-Russian dose of tenacity and persistence. A great asset to the opposition, he never accepted its shibboleths and to the last belonged to no party. What mattered to him was not the minutiae of the agrarian program of the Socialists-Revolutionists, but rather the interests of the depositors of the Nizhni-Novgorod rural bank and the fate of a group of Votyaks accused of ritual murder. And whether he is describing the horrors of the famine of 1891 or a Jewish house looted by pogrom-makers or writing a little classic against capital punishment, he does it without raising his voice above an easy conversational tone, and with a sense for the neat, dry facts, as who might say: "I knew the man it happened to." The office of the country's living conscience, so long held by Tolstoi, was in time bequeathed, with all its attendant harassments and hopes, to Korolenko. A countryman of his called him the Russian constitution.

The characteristics of his forensic writing he carried into those of his works which properly belong in the province of belles-lettres. Even as a story-teller he clings to what is homely and familiar and reasonable, holding suspect what he called "the sly work of the imagination." He keeps aloof from the indiscreet prying of the psychologist. He has no patience with mysticism. He is as unexciting in his lack of perversity as a plain, wholesome, crusty loaf of bread. And as for demonism, there is no place for it in this eudemonist. His forte is the perceptive and retentive power, and indeed we have his word for it that he finds life worth living for his visual impressions alone. Yet for all the keenness of his eye, he is apt to throw a little romantic glamor upon the scene, as the old Italians drew a halo around the head of some peasant Madonna. And be assured that the text of his account of life is framed in a commentary of kindness.

Conceive, now, of this man's end. Truly did it show forth the divine wisdom and mercy that Moses was not allowed to enter the Promised Land. Alas for the gentle, patient, conciliatory soul, fallen upon the harsh and violent days of a freedom he had fathered! In place of the candle that had shone for him like a good deed in a naughty world, there blazed a world conflagration. And so the superannuated man must needs comfort himself by retiring into the chambers of his memory and writing his "History of My Contemporaries," whereof he left the fifth large volume unfinished; and only the first two have been published. The second appeared just before he died. This work will take its place among the great personal narratives, and what was partly written in frozen ink and the darkness of destitution will yet offer the milk of human kindness and make us to lean upon compassion, the middle pillar of the house of man.

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The House That Jack Built

By JOHN F. NASON

THE workers of Boston have built a house of which they are proud. Not many miles from Plymouth Rock on the shores of Massachusetts Bay it stands, a half-brick half-wooden bungalow, which I, an American workingman, assert may mean almost as much to future civilization as that rock.

People talk to me of various isms and I have heard many a soap-box orator on Boston Common describe the perfect state. But I have had enough wind; I want action. The proof of a system is in the working, I told a fellow bricklayer one day when we were dreaming of building houses for wage-earners at moderate prices. Nearly a year has passed since that remark, a year of hard, up-hill work. Instead of telling the bosses and master builders that there were better ways of doing business than they knew, we determined to show them by actual work done. My philosophy does not run much beyond what I am able to do, but after there is something to point to I am willing to shove out my finger.

There *is* something to point to now—a wage-earner's product which has in it the promise of a whole economic reconstruction. The house in question is the first product of a thousand cooperative working builders, with the boss eliminated and with democratic management substituted. It is a dream a few mechanics have long cherished. Two years ago George Edwards and I determined to do what many idealists have been talking about for ages. We had faith in our fellow workmen in the building trades, and we believed there were brains enough to make our experiment a success. We were both bricklayers, but each of us had knocked about a bit over the world and we knew something of talking in public because we had long taken part in union meetings.

Edwards and I would go about from one union meeting to another telling of this new idea of ours to build without bosses, and to put roofs over workers at 15 per cent less than present costs. At last we got together men from nearly every building craft to join our councils. Every Saturday night we came together in a small hall at Wells Memorial Labor Temple and discussed ways and means. And we did a lot of talking before a chance came to put our theories into concrete form.

One of the newspaper men who had given us several articles in a Sunday paper became interested. He said he was willing to take a chance. By that time we had nearly seven hundred members owning from one to ten $10 shares, but arrangements were made by which the journalist would pay the bills weekly until the work was completed. Together with the journalist and his wife we looked over drawings and plans and agreed on a price. It was a thousand or fifteen hundred dollars below what regular contractors would have estimated.

Our plan has been to make no profits, but to get a small percentage on money invested, and to pay good wages. Work, steady the year round, is a mechanic's dream, and we determined to supply it if possible. None of us was to receive more than a foreman's pay, and when they elected me president and I took charge of the offices at 68 Pemberton Square I was allotted a salary equal to what I earn from a good week's bricklaying. The plan of organization was drawn up by a young Boston attorney who steered us past many legal difficulties. We agreed that no stockholder should have more than one vote no matter how many shares he might own. We were determined that the corporation should be run by men and not by dollars. This is the essence of cooperation. The State of Massachusetts has always been conservative when it comes to giving charters to cooperative organizations, but by good luck our attorney was able to secure a charter with broad powers to carry on any industry directly connected with construction work.

This house was undertaken at a time when building materials had reached the top notch and labor was still one dollar an hour. A foreman was elected and a building committee consisting of bricklayers, carpenters, steam fitters, plumbers, plasterers, and paper hangers was chosen. Each craft was to look after its own particular part of the job under the direction of the elected boss and building council. The meeting just preceding this first venture was the most thrilling in our experience. We had no equivalent, and no sum had been set aside for it, so a dozen of us went down into our jeans for money to pay for necessary tools.

We gave the journalist and his wife the right to add to or take away from the original plans, and the services of an architect were not required—at least we got along without one. Rough plans placed in our hands were made into blue prints by one of our experienced carpenters; and they worked. The journalist's wife proved to be an expert shopper and was able to buy much of the material used in the house at a reduction. On the other hand she and her husband asked for changes which proved expensive. Experts who have examined the house estimate its value at about two thousand dollars above what it has cost.

In spite of difficulties and miscalculations in this initial construction job we have gone on with the work, and now have to our credit thirty-eight finished contracts. We have bought outright a large tract of land in Dorchester and upon one corner have built a two-story apartment house worth eleven thousand dollars. This we hope soon to sell in order to turn our money over into other similar houses.

Recently the directors have broadened the membership requirements, limiting shareholders to those who hold union cards in the building trades, and have extended the privilege to any trade unionists. A few small loans have been taken from banks and liberal friends who are in sympathy with the proposition. Our efforts in building are limited at the present time by the lack of available funds to allow us to accept attractive propositions requiring initial capital of many thousands of dollars. With completed houses, with several garages, with every kind of repair construction work to our credit, we feel we can safely go before the public and ask for money to carry on a plan of work which will eventually eliminate unemployment, poverty, and industrial warfare.

There are plenty who predict failure, and a few members have withdrawn discontented with methods and management, but I am sure we Boston wage builders are on the right track, leading to a method of production which will give contentment and work to thousands who will feel that they are free and independent American workingmen. And, I am happy to say, we have met with no antagonism from the master builders' association. Its secretary has wished us success if we can point to any plan by which houses may be built at reasonable cost.

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Shop Talk

By MAX McCONN

JONES and I have backed away together into the corner beside the baby grand. We have forgotten the discomfort that nearly every American male feels in his evening clothes. We are no longer afraid we may drop our coffee cups. We are talking earnestly, keenly—fairly going it. A blessed respite from laborious pumping for thin rivulets of banal phrase about the weather, the music, the decorations! Our dialogue flows fluent and swift—good dialogue, humorous, original, pregnant. For Jones and I both sell tires, and we are deep in the latest aspects of that fascinating branch of merchandising.

"Oh, oh!" cries our hostess, "you are talking shop! Naughty, naughty!" Of course, she smiles and te-hees as she says it. But that is merely the hypocritical social sugar-coating for the solid pill of admonition which she thoroughly means we shall swallow instantly.

She is gone, but Jones and I—poor spineless creatures that we are—slip shamefaced out of our refuge, resume our stations at the pump, again balance fearfully with precarious china.

Would I could have found the wit and courage to explain to that fair, censorious dame that our talk—Jones's and mine—was the best talk going at that particular moment in her drawing-room! How else did she spot us but by the fact that we were the only two persons present who were really absorbed—not glancing over each other's shoulders in a common quest of their get-away? I swear that the next time—but why be forsworn? American manhood may be quick to resist political tyranny or economic oppression: before the social dictates of the matriarchate which really rules the land it can only cringe and obey.

But on paper at least I can be bold, and I enter herewith my remonstrance and protest against the American feminine taboo on shop talk. I hereby assert that shop talk is the best talk in the world, for the simple reason that it means a man talking about the thing he really knows and is really interested in, and that if we would give it free rein, instead of continually checking it, at least two-thirds of the boredom that hangs like a pall over our teas and receptions and visitings would vanish away.

Of course, I know that our hostesses—dear Carol Kennicotts that they are—sigh for the stimulating conversation of Bohemia. But why is the conversation of Bohemia stimulating? Precisely because it is shop talk, pure and simple, brazen and unabashed and continuous. Only the talkers happen to manufacture free verse and statuettes instead of footwear or motor cars. Is there any real difference in shoppiness between a minor novelist thumping a table in a café over the realism of Theodore Dreiser and your own poor husband over there in the corner emphasizing with his forefinger the merits or demerits of some particular brand of the commodity *he* purveys?

"Ah, yes," the Carols may reply, "but free verse and statuettes and realism are *interesting*, whereas your automobiles and hardware and footwear ——"

True, ladies! I hasten to admit it. The writers and artists have the best of it every way, in their work as well as in their talk. But is that any reason why you should not permit, nay, encourage, the rest of us to make the best of that dull portion which is ours? For it is not as if by steering us off tires you could forthwith have us eloquent on art and literature. It is tires or nothing for us, poor fellows.

And, let me add, we may not really be so entirely uninteresting as you assume. After all there are two sides to this matter of interest. Perhaps, if you would let us talk freely of our employments and listen with alert, perceiving minds, you might discover that we touched phases of many "interesting" topics. Jones and I, now, the other night—our text was tires—what could be more prosy, more materialistic?—and yet we dealt incidentally with economics, on the sides both of production and of distribution, and with psychology, and even with art and literature in their competent applications to advertising. And at any rate we should have been revealing to you, if you had hearkened, two entirely genuine if not highly differentiated specimens of the *genus homo*.

Do you remember when it was that Carol found Doc Kennicott interesting and lovable? Was it not when she let him discourse on surgery?

I insist, furthermore, on pointing out two obvious points of unfairness in the application of this taboo.

First, it is applied rigorously to the shop of men, but much less consistently, if at all, to feminine shop—recipes, patterns, babies, in the case of the proletariat and the lower bourgeoisie; and among the higher bourgeoisie or economic aristocracy, frocks and maids. Will any female have the hardihood to deny that such topics circulate freely among the petticoated contingent on every sort of occasion? Or to maintain that they are essentially less shoppy or more cultural and elegant than the themes which are forbidden to their husbands?

The second point of unfairness is still more serious. It may even be characterized as treacherous. It is that talk about themselves and their own affairs is freely permitted to men when they appear in the capacity of lovers, actual or potential. Whatever Corydon makes or sells—were it hog cholera serum or bicycle pumps—is then of supreme interest to Phyllida—"for his sake." Poor Corydon is led to believe he has found a maiden who is not only beauteous but also—and usually he values this more—intelligently and sympathetically alive to the engrossing interest of hog serum or pumps. He is so pathetically grateful, so profoundly appreciative, that he eagerly undertakes the life support of so delightful a creature—only to learn that in reality serum nauseates her and pumps inflate her wrath and neither may be mentioned in polite society! Is it not cruel? And if she, on her side, finds her husband grown dull, whom has she to thank?

In the Driftway

ACROSS from the Drifter in the subway train sat a little girl about fourteen years old with a large hat box on the floor beside her. Her black coat was worn and had obviously never been the right size for her; the ribbon on her battered hat had once been blue but was now a dirty drab; her face was thin and pale and had a drab cast also. She was not a particularly beguiling little girl, but the Drifter saw, when she once raised her eyes from the paper she was reading, that for the moment she did not need sympathy. He craned his neck impolitely to see what en-

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grossed her and discovered, by comparing her paper with his own, that it was a detailed account of the more delectable items in the Princess Mary's trousseau. Since this bore out incontestably one of the Drifter's pet theories, he experienced a glow of self-satisfaction. A king, he has always maintained and often said, is worth keeping merely because he is a king. A Royal wedding is a Royal wedding, whether the bride be the daughter of Oberon and Titania or a healthy, rather sober-looking young English girl. Some two thousand persons of the elect will squeeze into the sixteen-inch seats in Westminster and actually witness a Royal marriage. They are entitled to be cynical about it if they choose. But for many of the millions who read the newspapers afterward the bride's gown will be woven of sunlight, her veil will be gossamer, the wedding party will walk on roses which their light feet will not crush, and the bride herself will be as radiant as a spring morning. And all this, the Drifter maintains, is as it should be. This is the only use to which a king or a princess can properly be put.

* * * * *

THIS universal trait which spreads a magic veil between the eyes of the humble and the persons of the great is one of life's compensations. Besides supporting otherwise indigent young women as "Society Editors" it provides romance for innumerable Cinderellas of any age who cannot afford to buy books of fairy tales; for two cents the Drifter's young friend of the subway was transported to Arcady. And lest any of his compatriots congratulate themselves on the fact that this royalty stuff is the property of the benighted English and not for them, the Drifter begs leave to remind them of a certain wedding of the rich and the great in New York City not so long ago at which the police reserves had to be called out to keep curious crowds from mobbing the bride and groom! After the revolution and the establishment of a society of generous and noble-hearted communists, there will be trouble instanter unless some heroes can be found for the citizens to worship.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Reparations and Debts

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: To those who had not read "America and the Balance Sheet of Europe," the review of that work in your issue of February 1 must have seemed extravagant. Having read the book myself, I do not think that the reviewer's praises are at all exaggerated. I believe that this is the most important book in the political and economic field that has been produced since the war, and I heartily agree with Mr. Wertheim that it would be a good thing if all our statesmen and business men could be compelled to read the volume. The most arresting proposition set forth by the authors is that not more than a fraction of the war reparations and the international war debts are likely to be paid, for the simple reason that the creditors are unwilling to receive payment in the only form in which it can come, namely, in goods.

Recently, I have had occasion to test this question before five different audiences. One was made up of men and women who take more than the average interest in the present international situation. The other four audiences were classes in educational institutions, two made up of men and two of women, some graduate students and some undergraduate. Apparently less than five in the whole number of persons addressed had got possession of the truth to which I have just referred.

This fact, that the payment of reparations and international war debts is practically impossible, is one of the most important elements of present international relations. Therefore it is of the greatest importance that all the peoples should become acquainted with the fact. Nevertheless, the politicians in every country, including our own, are afraid to convey this truth to their constituents. The French Government continues to assure the people of that country that Germany can and must pay. Our own Government goes through the motions of refunding the war debts of the Allies, carefully refraining from setting a time when the interest must begin to be paid, but concealing the fundamental reason for this indefinite postponement. The French Government demands that German reparations be paid in full, and yet raises tariff barriers against the only form that the payment can take, that is, German goods. The Congress of the United States takes the position that the debts of the Allies must be paid, and at the same time is preparing to raise the tariff wall higher against the only payment that we can ever receive, namely, European products.

And yet not even a beginning can be made toward bringing about the economic recovery of Europe until this fundamental fact concerning reparations and inter-Allied debts is frankly faced and accepted. On this point, the following paragraph from "America and the Balance Sheet of Europe" is well worth reprinting (p. 335):

> What hope is there for the world so long as the leading premiers of Allied countries admit that Germany can pay only with goods which none of the Allied nations is willing to receive, and give support to their parliaments in framing tariff measures designed to prevent German exports; and at the same time insist that recalcitrant Germany must meet the reparation obligation to the last farthing and the last sou? What hope is there for the world so long as most of the leading students of international finance and economics, who recognize the fundamental illusion in reparations and Allied debts, will frankly discuss the subject only in undertones and in inner offices? What hope is there for the world when statesmen and financiers alike, while lacking the courage to tell the truth about reparations and inter-Allied debts, insist that nothing can be done as a practical matter, "however desirous it might be from an economic point of view," because the people will not be satisfied to give up the supposed advantages of reparations and of debt payments? If ever there was a time for leadership in a campaign of enlightenment on the fundamentals of international economics it is now. If ever there was a time when the truth is needed to set men free, it is now. If ever there was a time when evasion, concealment, and pussy-footing were political virtues, it is *not* now.

Washington, February 3 JOHN A. RYAN,
Director, National Catholic Welfare Council

Germany Today

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Just a year ago *The Nation* began its weekly visit as a Christmas gift. Your paper has been the source of much intense interest and pleasure. It means personal sacrifice, not indifference, that I see no way to renew the subscription for the coming year. You may be interested in the reasons for this decision on my part. The blockade is in reality more severe than at any time during the war. To the superficial observer, prosperity appears to reign; actual conditions are heartrending. The middle classes are becoming incapable of giving their children proper education, are living in cramped conditions with compulsory quartering of the homeless in force, have a growing dislike to showing themselves in public in unsuitable clothing, and are obliged to withdraw more and more from even the simplest social intercourse. The hardships of the students, the want of books and other means of study are again emphasized by the food and coal question. Since Germany's dismemberment (East Prussia and Silesia) the conditions are graver than ever before.

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The imperative duty of the hour is to increase the food supply. Since my return from the States I have bought a little farm of the typical size of peasant property. I am thus one of the happy few who can supply all their needs from the produce of their property. I raise sufficient grain, potatoes, and vegetables for my household of six; we burn our own peat and wood, spin our own wool and flax, drink our own cider, and have fruit and honey, but every penny counts, as the manure of our cattle (eight cows, two calves, and one horse) is insufficient to produce a steady increase of crops. Every spare penny goes toward this end, the real patriotic duty of the hour.

The only way in which the middle classes can make the two ends meet is by speculation, unheard of in these classes heretofore. The workmen earn ten marks an hour and are as a consequence self-indulgent and wasteful. The family experiences no improvement from the prosperity of the father who wastes his earnings on public-house living and cigarettes. His place of work is often far distant from his family's living place, and housing conditions prevent their following him. The continued absence of the father is of serious and detrimental consequence for the family. Reconstruction must begin at the root of all evil, the housing conditions.

We are not allowed to forbid the import of French wine, soap, perfumes, and tobacco; the workmen and the profiteers have no qualms of conscience in the use of these luxuries; so our mark must continue to fall for the present. You will realize from the inclosure what a fight for life periodicals and newspapers are undergoing. Schools are undergoing the same experience. Valuable assistance could be given by the well-wishers of Germany by subscribing for periodicals and papers and by sending pupils to schools and academies. I dare not touch on the consequences of the "mind famine" we are subjected to. Now that information from other countries is growing impossible the natural inclination of the German to be narrow-minded and opinionated is fostered artificially.

Munich, February 2 K. H.

Vienna Lights and Shadows

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Everyone in Vienna lives in dread of finding that the increased cost of production has made the manufacturers lose their markets and that an unemployment crisis will come. There are no resources in the country to meet any widespread unemployment, but certainly industry is showing itself able to carry on with the increased wages longer than we expected, and the recovery has evidently gone much further than most observers realized; manufacturers apparently have some reserves upon which to fall back.

Of course, one must remember that even now, the wages which seem so high are far below the wages in other countries. The krone stood yesterday about 7,000 to the dollar, and wages run from k. 10,000 to k. 40,000 a week. I think, however, there are only a few in receipt of such high wages as the latter figure.

The internal purchasing value is higher than the outside exchange value for everything except clothing; clothing is practically at world prices, and food is not far below. When there is a sudden drop in the exchange, food prices are apt to be about half the price in England, but keep rising, and after a few days' stability in the exchange are relatively much higher. The things which make it seem cheap to us to live here, as compared with other countries, are not the things which make most difference to a laborer's subsistence level.

To turn to the dark side of the picture, I do not think I need to describe further to you the miseries of those in the professional and brain-worker classes, who do not benefit from the general rise in wages. The professors think themselves enormously fortunate in having got an increase of salaries, bringing them up to amounts between one and two million kronen a year. [One million kronen now equal $143.]

At the moment, perhaps, the demand for clothing is the most clamoring of all; even those who seem to us to be starving say that they could manage better if they had help with clothing, and if you can do anything to support our appeal for further relief this winter we shall be very grateful.

Singerstrasse, 16, Vienna I, January 20 Hilda Clark,
General Secretary, Friends Relief Mission

A Grateful Reader

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I receive every week a most precious gift from you, *The Nation*. There is no other paper which I read with such pleasure, confidence, and heartfelt approval. The gallant and generous standpoints of *The Nation*, so ably set forth, fill me again and again with admiration, gratitude, and hope. I wish we had a *Nation* in every country and I have often called the attention of my countrymen to this periodical as the unsurpassed prototype for all publicists who want to form and strengthen liberal ideas in the world. Certainly I never thought higher of the U. S. A. than since I have been reading *The Nation*, for a country where *The Nation* is not only possible but flourishing and influential, where shortcomings can be frankly criticized and opposed, must be a desirable country.

Gümligen bei Bern, December 6 Wilhelm Muehlon

Prisons and Men

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I read with great interest the article in your issue of January 4, What Prisons Do to Men, and there is much truth in it. At the same time I would like to give you my views on the subject. The statement quoted from the report of the director of prisons of the Commonwealth of New Zealand, wherein he congratulates the people of his island community on the fact that they have long since abandoned the system which leads to such cruelties as are still practiced in American prisons is only in part justified; that is, only as to prisons in some of our States. In a large number of States in this Union there has been great improvement in the condition of prisons and in the treatment of prisoners. New Jersey is doing much better under the leadership of Burdette Lewis and Calvin Derrick under him. In New York there has been some improvement, retarded because of antiquated prison buildings, and even the new Wingdale and Sing Sing prisons will not help much; but there is more intelligent and efficient conduct of the prisons. Major Lawes, warden of Sing Sing, is doing well.

As you probably know, Governor Smith appointed a committee, of which I was chairman, to make a survey of all the prisons of New York State. This survey has been finished, and if the recommendations contained therein are carried out, which I hope Governor Miller will help to bring about, there will be great improvement, especially as regards the employment of the prisoner and giving him a chance to learn a trade; and at the same time his work will be of benefit to the State.

The National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, of which I am chairman, has made surveys of the States of Maryland, New Mexico, North Carolina, the District of Columbia, and New Jersey, and will very likely be called upon to make a survey for the State of Texas. I hope that the public will gradually get a better understanding of this subject, to so treat the prisoner while he is in prison that there is a chance that he will be able to take care of himself and his family after his discharge, not only on account of the prisoner himself but of the general community to which most of the prisoners ultimately have to come back.

New York, January 21 Adolph Lewisohn

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IT IS the way with art that once we know and love the best we cannot be satisfied with any other than the best. You who find your deepest satisfaction in the music of the immortals—men such as Wagner, Liszt and our own Mac Dowell—surely when you buy a piano, you can be satisfied only with the instrument which these men used themselves, the Instrument of the Immortals. For when you buy a piano you do not buy a thing of wood and metal—it is music that you buy—the greatest of the arts. Once your fingers touch the keyboard of the Steinway—once you drink the beauty of its tone, for you there can be no other piano. You would be just as unwilling to own another instrument as Paderewski would be, or Rachmaninoff, or Hofmann. Each time you hear the Steinway its voice means more to you. With each new year it grows into your life. Its voice, as a great critic exclaimed, is a benediction to the soul, its presence a privilege to the eye. Is it any wonder the Steinway is the piano chosen by the greatest composers, pianists and teachers? Is it any wonder so many people say: "It is the dream of my life to own a Steinway"?

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Books

The Roving Critic

THE biographies of Jack London and O. Henry throw a light back over their careers in which it is increasingly apparent that the tincture—or, rather, the heavy element—of sentimentalism which made them the most popular American writers of their day was in them no less than in their works. One may explain the cloying atmosphere of "The Book of Jack London" (Century: 2 vols.) as much as one likes by saying that Charmian London here writes in the perturbed idiom of a widow naturally full of grief and tenderness; but it still remains to he said that the book is a pretty accurate reproduction of the intellectual world which Jack London inhabited. He was so medieval in his attitude toward his wife that he could not bear to give her a household allowance, preferring to have the agreeable sensation of doing something for her every time she needed money; he was so respectable in his attitude toward his work that he boasted he had never written a line which could bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of his daughters. Though he had in his own person gone through physical adventures which few writers have ever equaled, and though he read with tremendous appetite in all the current philosophies, he never really grew up. He was always the wild boy of genius, a very Roosevelt among authors, absorbing all that came near him with a hunger due to his amazing energy, and then throwing it off in forms of art hardly at all tempered by reflection. For this his susceptibility to money may be held in large part to blame; he forced himself beyond all reason in order that he might play the baron and the lord bountiful on his ranch. Surely this, however, was sentimentalism: the pride of goods, the sweet joy of condescension. And so in all his stories of danger and horror he lent himself to the cult of "red blood" which is sentimental if any cult ever was, luxuriating in its details of primitive life—in themselves interesting—as if they had some special virtue by right of their own rawness.

On the other hand, O. Henry seems to have taken to comedy as another mode of escape from the world he had observed. In a remarkably entertaining book, "Through the Shadows with O. Henry" (H. K. Fly), Al Jennings, who knew the man in South America, in the Ohio penitentiary, and in New York after fame had overtaken him, manages, without intending it, on nearly every page to make O. Henry out something perilously near a rather sentimental snob. Doubtless it is mere respect for a friend's memory that lies behind this constant reference to the proud Southern gentleman that Porter was; yet the pleasant incense suggests fire somewhere. "All life belongs to me," the story-writer. "I take thereof what I want. I return it as I can." This is excellent artistic procedure. But it happens that what O. Henry wanted to return fell short of what he took—or at least had a chance to take. Mr. Jennings's story of Dick Price, the original of Jimmy Valentine, is both more touching and more true than A Retrieved Reformation. The real safe-breaker was in prison for life; he was allowed to open a safe, left closed by an absconding treasurer, on the promise of a pardon; he did it, the pardon did not come, and he shortly after died. O. Henry sweetened and melodramatized the tale with pretty touches about virtue reformed but still followed by its record, a little child shut up in the safe, love risked and almost lost, an officer of the law softened by the sight of heroism. Then there is the story Mr. Jennings tells of Ira Maralatt, the Prison Demon, and his outrageous treatment in the penitentiary, which O. Henry was not willing to tell at all. He had, of course, the right to decline to touch materials which he might feel were not congenial to his talents, but the evidence is that he shrank from prison realities out of a nervous dread of being associated in anybody's mind with prisons. Always fastidious, he held himself proudly aloof during the days of his wanderings and of his incarceration; later, he explained his methods as actuated by a desire to reach the smug with accounts of the excellences of the lowly which the smug would never read unless he adapted his utterance to their sensitive ears. Imagine Gorki doing that!

Although Mr. Jennings is not innocent of a native instinct for sentimentalism and melodrama which deprives his representation of O. Henry of some of that charm with which his biographer obviously meant to invest him, he tells his own story with thrilling directness. And what a story! Born in a snowdrift, brought up as a river rat on the Ohio, carried across the plains to Colorado as a waif, a man-killer by fourteen, educated at the Virginia Military Academy, lawyer and outlaw in the Southwest till, after a long flight from justice in South America, he was sentenced to the penitentiary for assault with intent to kill and for train-robbery, released from prison through the intervention of Mark Hanna and later restored to citizenship by Roosevelt—Al Jennings went through all this and then beat his way back to a reputable status again. His book is an astonishing document upon the unarticulated life of the country in which such things can happen. Yet he, alas, who is willing to tell the story, lacks the art to make it a masterpiece; and O. Henry, who had the art and knew the story, would never have been willing to tell it as it was.

CARL VAN DOREN

If I Went Back

If I went back and watched again
  The way she walks through garden dew,
Would the old song-burst of our wren
  Make earth no bigger than we two?

If I went back (Put back the clock
  O Time! Spring, roses of that year!)
Would her beauty loosen flames to lock
  Or lift me, or just start the fear

That some day she will stir about
  Hedges and in the sunshine sing,
Forgetful that I once put out
  The stars for her, blasphemed the spring. . . .

PIERRE LOVING

Culture

I saw an oak upon a hill,
Weathered gray and great;
Etched against an empty sky
Like a mask of fate.

It was as scornful as a sprig
Whose life has just begun;
As lovely as an old man
Smiling at the sun.

It knew of old the bellowing storm,
And dared his threshing might;
It did not shrink from searing day,
Nor dread choking night.

And they will fell it, shrivel it,
In cold mechanic rage,
That its bleached flesh and bones may bear
These words, upon this page.

CLEMENT WOOD

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The Return of the Short Story

I Have Only Myself to Blame. By Elizabeth Bibesco. George H. Doran Company. $2.

Adam and Eve and Pinch Me. By A. E. Coppard. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

Monday or Tuesday. By Virginia Woolf. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

THE short story which threatened for years to become a base mechanic exercise is experiencing a gradual rebirth into art. Huge quantities of trade-goods manufactured for the magazines still overshadow by sheer bulk and loud publicity the fine and personal things that are hard to fit into the requirements of a "national circulation." The narratives of Sherwood Anderson do not gracefully set off the advertisements of bath-tubs and near-beer; one only of the stories of Elizabeth Asquith—it is not hard to tell which one—was thought worthy of that fate. Under the psychical impact of such examples, however, the conventional magazine yarn will grow emptier and feebler until the editors will be forced to adventure into new fields.

The new short story returns, of course—since there is in art no newness but just that—to the function of personal expression. There is in it no fixed technique, no assembling of parts defined and labeled by a pedagogue who whirrs with efficiency. Each story is, like a lyric, the unique projection of an otherwise incommunicable experience or mood, and a volume of stories gains its unity of tone from the fact in nature that a single personality will have its more or less habitual reactions toward experience, its more or less accustomed harmonies or discords of mood.

The brief tales and sketches of the Princess Bibesco, daughter of Margot Asquith, unite the acuteness of a worldly philosopher with the candor of a precocious child. Things that everyone knows thickly and dimly she raises into the clearness of a truly watchful consciousness and expresses with a frank naturalness and worldly elegance. Her most characteristic as well as her highest achievement is the sketch, running to just two pages and a half, called As It Was in the Beginning. Here she catches a moment that is at the very quick and core of things—utterly central and permanent—and sets it down without one superfluous gesture, one needless suggestion of intricacy. This sudden, clean, luminous candor the other stories approach but never quite reach. Once or twice, indeed, she takes refuge in the twist and false pointedness of conventional story technique. But her small book as a whole is charmingly honest, gay, and wise. She knows the sadness of things. But since many words will scarcely mend it, she lets that knowledge remain merely implicit and calmly pursues the brilliant perceptions which she desires to clarify and set forth.

Mr. Coppard is concerned with moods, visions, legends, and with these primarily as they permit him to draw all possible variations of melody from the instrument of style. He is, first of all, a lover of words and rhythms—the large, orchestral rhythms of prose. He cultivates by turns the majestic harmonies and grave imaginative altitudes of the seventeenth century prosemen, writing of the god with "bright hair burning in the pity of the sunsets and tossing in the anger of the dawns," and the wild, earthy, naked sweetness of Synge, speaking, then, of "eyes that were soft as remembered twilight," and of a "welt that would have bruised an oak-tree." He cares very little for story interest and weaves the rich and soft or strange and stirring patterns of his imaginative moods and visions as though there were no such things in the world as machinery or magazines. He is that rare thing—an almost quite pure, quite disinterested artist to whom the deep forms of beauty have a mystical finality of value. And one cannot conceive of him as even discussing in any theoretical manner this to him at once primal and transcendent truth. Among his actual twelve legends it is a little unjust to discriminate. Each renders the visionary mood from which it grew. Perhaps most memorable are the rich, dreamy passion and pity of Dusky Ruth, the picture of immemorial and recurrent fate in The King of the World, the superb arabesque The Mouse with its strange excursion into the beauty of cruel and monstrous things.

The psychical sketches of Miss Virginia Woolf are interesting as experiments rather than as achievements. Brevity through concision may shame the most elaborate eloquence; the brevity gained by mere omission may skirt the unintelligible. To make one hover constantly on the edge of perception is neither good art nor, in the highest sense, good policy. Nothing is so subtle that it cannot be made reasonably clear to the fit mind. Miss Woolf's sentences shimmer and glide and lose themselves in a kind of mist. Yet in her work, too, there is the interest and health of an art-form that, having been long debased in the market-place, seeks to regain its soul, function, and style.

L. L.

George Edward Woodberry

Literary Memoirs of the Nineteenth Century.—Studies of a Litterateur.—Heart of Man and Other Papers.—Appreciation of Literature and America in Literature.—The Torch and Other Lectures and Addresses.—Literary Essays. By George Edward Woodberry. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 6 vols. $3 each.

BY collecting his literary criticism, or by permitting the Society which bears his name to collect it, Mr. Woodberry incurs the query whether he is to be known among America's critics, and indeed the world's. The challenge of these large volumes is clear. They seek position beside the volumes of Emerson and Lowell, of Dryden and Johnson and Hazlitt and Macaulay and Pater, of Sainte-Beuve and Anatole France, of Lessing and Goethe. They are, of course, the work of a comprehensive critic. Are they at all the work of a transcendent one?

Since any critic is more important for his personality than for his principles, for his genius than for his faith, it is interesting in Mr. Woodberry's case to turn first to his miscellaneous matter—the articles and reviews which he contributed to the *Atlantic* and *The Nation* during the eighties and the nineties of the last century. It was then that he was finding his temper and establishing his range; there he was concerned with biography rather than dogma, description rather than judgment, the evaluation of individuals rather than the philosophy of art. The critic we find in those and in subsequent pieces of the same occasional sort is the critic he essentially is. And what kind is that? Nobly consistent and conscientious, but not great. We find a man of equable temper and no small presence of mind, thoroughly at home among the accepted names of accepted literature, most comfortable in the presence of idealist authors but charitable and patient everywhere, loving virtue, loving kindliness, loving competence, loving poetry. Austere without arrogance, he can find room for spirits so different from himself as Byron and Crabbe; he even can force a liking for the eighteenth century, though not on account of its cruel, dry satire so foreign to his unwrathful soul. In the end he loses by his evenness. The potent critics have not been tempered too steadily with refinement and caution, have not been always decorous and calm. They have had their rages for and against, and when they have had points to make they have made them obtrusively. In a word, they have not bothered about good manners. Perhaps Mr. Woodberry has been too much the New England gentleman ever to become the universal critic. His miscellaneous work, respectable as it is, leaves remarkably few impressions that are strong or bright. Certain beginning paragraphs of essays loiter in the memory for the care of their portraiture; but even those are extinguished as soon as one thinks of Lowell and Pater and Saint-Beuve.

Mr. Woodberry is said to have been a good teacher, and there is something of the teacher over all these pages. We get an

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introduction to literature rather than hear any mature last word spoken concerning it. It is not merely that many of the essays were composed as introductions to college texts or as lectures before college audiences; it is not merely that one of the books reprinted, "The Appreciation of Literature," was intended for the very young. Throughout the elementary note is clear; we read within four walls. The air is not the large air of a complicated world that is on the whole unkind to literature and certainly is sustained by other foods. It is the confined air of a room in which history is preached to prove that mankind has lived from one great poet to the next. Mr. Woodberry believes what tender-minded pupils always can be encouraged to believe, that poets are prophets, that the world is good, and that the world is one. It is said that many of his keener students did not agree with his philosophy, but took it seriously. His keenest readers will decline to take it seriously.

Mr. Woodberry will fail of being a force in twentieth-century criticism either of literature or of life through his dislike of "the things that one feels shame in acknowledging to be true," through his determination "to realize life in the abstract as noble or beautiful or humane," and through his fear of any other phenomenon than "that symmetry of human reason which makes all nobler minds tend to think the same thoughts." He is provincial in his Christianity, effeminate in his idealism, deluded in his democracy. Who would quarrel with his one unchanging criterion and endlessly reiterated creed—that literature must be human? That says everything, and so means nothing. But what upright intelligence will not object to his bland identification of human with humane, of helpful with hopeful? He passes over Homer to call Virgil the greatest of poets because he has done the most good—that is, been the most interested in a cohering race, been most "constructive." And Shelley comes next because he has been most passionate in propaganda for Man—that is, man in a perfectionist world. These were forward-looking men, and so Mr. Woodberry loves them. But forward toward what? The best contemporary intelligences do not pretend to know, nor have the past ones known. The strongest men, and so the strongest critics, have not been afraid in the face of a multiple world. Mr. Woodberry, when the world begins to look as if it might fall to pieces, shudders and feels cold. His opposite shrugs or smiles and examines the parts. The great destroyers (but they may have been the great builders)—Lucian, Swift, Voltaire, Schopenhauer—he hardly so much as mentions; Nietzsche he has known more recently, but too late. Vast, unaccountable individuals who have appeared on earth without reason and gone without explanation—Rabelais, Melville, Whitman—he has no understanding of. For him the irresponsibles, the irritants, the imps—Ariosto, Sterne, Anatole France—do not exist. The solvent critics of today, men who separate rather than join, who shun no fact or idea because it stands alone, who are at ease in empty spaces, who war on truths that they may live with truth—Remy de Gourmont, for an instance—do not enlist him in their terrible number.

In "Heart of Man" Mr. Woodberry gravely reminds us that "the highest mind is incomplete without humor," but adds: "Great books are never frivolous; they leave the reader wiser and better." The suspicion this engenders that his is not one of the highest minds is well confirmed by the two thousand pages in which he neither makes nor relishes fun. The only humor is the unconscious humor of a certain passage, also in "Heart of Man," in which he recalls a ride on Texan ponies with a friend. The animals, "beautiful in their wildness, had never known bit or spur," but before many miles he had produced his notebook and was reading aloud some paragraphs on Christianity which he had from time to time set down. We get the paragraphs, which fill twenty-three pages, and are told that they were broken off only when "There was no doubt about it; we were lost." This seems worth speaking of, lest it be charged against his works that they contain no smile.

MARK VAN DOREN

The Sociology of Art

L'Art et la vie sociale. By Charles Lalo. Paris: Librairie Octave Doin.

THAT class of critics in whom the mention of the word art evokes a string of eloquent and superlative attributes will not derive much benefit from reading "L'Art et la vie sociale." Art is divine and wonderful—granted—but it is also a human achievement which is accomplished under conditions of human society. M. Lalo has made it his business to study the influence that various social conditions have had upon the literary, musical, and plastic arts, and has attempted to build his entire aesthetic on a sociological base. He explains that his formula is in reality much older than at first appears. Plato's and Aristotle's preoccupations with art, he points out, were largely directed at the social consequences of the worship of the beautiful. Kant's aesthetic was purely psychologic and individualistic, but even Kant admitted that art was not possible without a society. And we are all familiar with the desire on the part of our modern socialists to discover the principles of an art that would truly characterize humanity liberated under socialism.

M. Lalo uses the generic term art advisedly, for he is well aware that only the arts, plural, exist; but nonetheless he holds that generalizations about the whole field of art are admissible. He has coined the words *anaesthetic* and *inaesthetic* to express gradations of meaning from the word aesthetic on the same principle that we have the words *amoral* and *immoral* representing distinctive nuances of the term moral. There are social conditions which are favorable to art, and these M. Lalo calls aesthetic conditions; similarly there are inaesthetic social conditions, which are distinctly inhibitive to art, and anaesthetic conditions which provide raw material for art without actually favoring its production.

This little book is concerned chiefly with the study of anaesthetic conditions, which are "necessary" but not "sufficient" for artistic production. Thus filial piety, or the belief in the efficacy of sacrifice, does not carry in it the intuition of beauty (unless we are to talk in eternal metaphors); but both of these subjects can be treated with great beauty both by poets and by painters and sculptors. What art does to the anaesthetic social realities when it comes in contact with them is indeed curious. Sometimes it conforms to social conditions and idealizes them; at other times it is mischievous and plays with these same conditions. It plays with the sentiments of family life, extolling the gay Lothario and the libertine. It plays with the idea of private property, and presents very adorable pictures of thieves and criminals while it laughs at policemen. This is particularly the case with the theater, whose art is the most social of all, and represents very largely the socialization of the play instinct in all of us.

The book is filled with an abundance of material on the interrelations of art to the family institution, to economic conditions, to political forms of government, and to the established religions. It is clearly an attempt to treat aesthetics as the evolutionary moralists have treated ethics. Instead of starting from a revealed and eternal principle, the moralists have shown that morality is a function of social evolution. Now we have the attempt to reduce aesthetics and the ideal of the beautiful to a sociological function. This attempt might have come long ago if it were not for the reverence with which we hold the Greek tradition. This tradition has been so strong that it has necessitated artistic "revolts" analogous in character to revolutions in politics and morality.

"The aesthetic ideal of a primitive age," says M. Lalo, "cannot be that of a classical or decadent epoch, and *vice versa*. And among all the possible forms of the ideal or of the normal there is none which is absolutely and truly ideal or normal. For when the favorable conditions are not granted by evolution, one does not become either primitive or classical at will, unless it be through an artifice, which is itself one of the forms character-

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istic of the decadence and the pathology of art." If this sort of writing and thinking about art spreads, what will happen to the old-fashioned art critic with Roget's "Thesaurus" under the arm? Will he go the way of the old-fashioned preacher?

BENJAMIN GINZBURG

Notes on History

OF the three extremely interesting studies gathered together by Vladimir G. Simkhovitch under the title "Toward the Understanding of Jesus" (Macmillan) the first, which gives the title to the book, is the least valuable. He brings vividly before us the situation in ancient Palestine, when the orthodox Jewish element was confronted with two enemies, Hellenistic culture and Roman power. The whole content of the nation's thought was polarized by the ensuing struggle, and it is only in this environment of rebellion and tense Messianic expectation that, as Mr. Simkhovitch argues, the message of Jesus can be understood. Jesus's solution of the problem, which the author considers a highly intellectual one, was to transcend it; to advance the claims of another kingdom than that of Rome and to put in place of a culture a religious morality. Much that the author says is true, but the scholar must note that he knows very little of New Testament criticism, that he grossly misprints Greek words, and that he offers such specimens of Latin as "scitarii" for "sicarii," and as "post facto." Far more impressive is his second essay on the fall of Rome, a phenomenon due, as he has convinced many scholars, more to the exhaustion of the soil than to any other one cause. He shows that nearly all the agricultural writers of antiquity believed that the soil was exhausted or, as they put it, had grown barren with age. Italy, at one time teeming with armies in the face of c nstant wars, became unable to support a diminished population during an age of peace. The latifundia, or great estates, so much blamed by contemporary moralists and statesmen, were the result, not the cause, of the abandonment of the soil. Rome was forced to import grain first from Sicily and then from Egypt. The swamps bred hordes of mosquitoes which caused, as the Romans very well knew, the malaria noted by some modern writers as the cause of Rome's decadence. In his final essay, Hay and History, he explains the life of the medieval village community as due to the cultivation of a poor soil by inadequate methods. In fact, the whole of history is largely explained in terms of the abandoned farm, the search for new soil to replace the skimmed glebe of virgin fields. The fall of Babylon and of the ancient and rich civilizations of Asia Minor and Africa, the social upheavals connected with inclosures in sixteenth-century Europe, and many other revolutions have been due to this one constant phenomenon. It is certainly a suggestive, an important, and a convincing argument that is here presented to the consideration of historians and economists.

The content of Maurice William's "Social Interpretation of History" (Sotery Publishing Company) is revealed by the subtitle, "A Refutation of the Marxian Economic Interpretation of History." But even the subtitle does not indicate exactly the purport of the book, which should be called "The Manner in which Socialism will Conquer." For Mr. William accepts practically all the principles of the Gospel according to Marx, including the theory of value finally abandoned by Marx himself, and the fundamental basis of the materialistic interpretation of history. The author takes exception only to one part of the latter, its corollary of class-war and of violent expropriation of the capitalists by the state. In this narrow line of argument the criticism is well taken and convincing. The author shows that Marx was illogical in arguing that whereas all epochs previous to his own had meant advance, the regime of the bourgeoisie meant retrogression. He shows that if Marx was right in concluding that the bourgeoisie tended to appropriate an ever greater share of wealth, leaving less and less to the proletariat, the former class would get stronger and the latter would finally become so weak as to be unable to wrest power from it. Secondly, he objects that Marx's theory that progress in a socialistic direction is impossible under the bourgeoisie has not been borne out by history. He thinks that many reforms of value to the proletariat have been accomplished by the bourgeoisie in their own interest, as, for example, the care for the health of the poor, better popular education, and a high taxation of the rich for the benefit of the poor. He points to ante-bellum Germany as the ideally socialized state, and attributes all her economic progress and supremacy to her good labor laws. Having established to his satisfaction the theses that Marxian principles are not scientific but Utopian, that they are not social but anti-social, and that they are inferior as a practical guide to the doctrines of St. Simon, the author draws a terrible picture of the chaos caused by the application of them in Russia. He predicts that Germany will pay her indemnity in full and in the course of doing so become efficient and Socialist, that England will follow her, and that in other countries, without a class-war, there will be a gradual approximation to the Socialist ideal. Incidentally he brings in much apt illustration from recent American history, and much keen criticism of Hillquit. With the pure Marxians of the *Liberator*, on the other hand, he has nothing to do.

A lively controversy, a war of books and ponderous erudition, has been waged for some twenty years in Germany over the question whether Luther was a medieval or a modern man. Somewhat analogous is the question whether he was a radical or a reactionary, which Dr. George M. Stephenson now undertakes to answer in "The Conservative Character of Martin Luther" (United Lutheran Publication House). His position is that the Reformer was "sometimes destructively radical yet always constructively conservative," but that his "real attitude" was conservative rather than liberal. Dr. Stephenson's sympathies are evidently with the conservatives; in what amounts to a short biography up to the year 1530 he apologizes for Luther's break with the church, his opposition to the Anabaptists, his harsh words to the peasants, and his intransigeant hostility to Zwingli, by trying to show that his acts were all consistently and conservatively motived. In his last chapter, on the Augsburg Confession, he is mistaken in saying that Luther was responsible for and approved of the form read before the Diet. This form is not now extant (unless a manuscript very recently discovered by Professor Ficker turns out to be a copy of it), and Luther did not even know what it contained, Melanchthon making it irenic and Catholic to a point quite irreconcilable with Luther's views.

Starting from Creighton's maxim that "English history is at bottom a provincial history," R. R. Reid has made an important contribution to the understanding of local government in his study of "The King's Council in the North" (Longmans, Green). He shows that the Wars of the Roses left the administration of the North practically unchanged, and that the need for strong government was great because of the venality of the local judges and the intimidation of juries by men in power. In that age men worshiped "Meed the maid" to such an extent that it was almost impossible to get a verdict against any man "well kinned and allied." The inadequacy of the common law placed the poor at the mercy of the rich just as the social changes of the age made it imperative that they should be adequately protected. The evils were partly remedied by an act of 1487 giving the King's Council extraordinary criminal jurisdiction. But the Council made itself odious to those in power, and it was suppressed in 1509. Partly restored after the fall of Wolsey in 1530, it was reconstituted in full vigor in 1537 as a result of the Pilgrimage of Grace. That rising, which Mr. Reid considers more agrarian than religious, fully brought home to Henry the necessity of strong government, and he showed high statesmanship in choosing for the membership of the Council those very "personages of honor, worship, and learning" who had been most conspicuous among the ranks of

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the disaffected. But though he managed to control the revolution he had started, his successor was too weak to do so, and anarchy ensued in the North as elsewhere. From this time forth the functions of the Council began to decay, and although it maintained a moderate vigor at York during the reign of Elizabeth, it declined thereafter to its fall under the Stuarts and the Commonwealth. PRESERVED SMITH

Items of Science

ON the title-page of "The Glands Regulating Personality" (Macmillan) the author, Louis Berman, has a thirteen-word quotation from Francis Bacon: "The passage from the miracles of nature to those of art is easy." This may well be taken as the text in any estimate of this volume, wherein the passage from nature to art is altogether too easy and plausible. The book is divided into very unequal parts. The first seven chapters, dealing with the history, physiology, and activities of the glands of internal secretion, are excellent. We have thoroughly correct accounts of the thyroid, pituitary, adrenals, and thymus, together with a discussion of the mechanics and rhythms of sex. But from here on we observe an infiltration of art and imagination, subtle internal dictional secretions of theory, glandular classifications of historic personages, exact physiological accountings for most delicately complex mental and spiritual characteristics, and we hesitate and finally refuse to follow the author to his final conclusions, his theoretic convictions, his rushings in where the most profound believers in the tremendous effects of these glands as yet fear to speak with certainty. The serious study of this immensely important phase of scientific investigation is not furthered by such statements as that "the rise and fall of Napoleon followed the rise and fall of his pituitary gland" or that "Caesar was . . . only a rather muddled careerist because he had too much adrenal and post-pituitary." It would be difficult to believe that the excellent knowledge of physiology possessed by Mr. Berman could be wholly explained by the greater or lesser activity of one of his internal secreting glands.

In "Within the Atom" (Van Nostrand) with fourteen chapters and with the aid of diagrams John Mills has attempted to interpret our present knowledge of atoms and electrons to the non-scientific reader. He has done his best, and is armed with an adequate background of knowledge, but he has been too conscientious in the scope of his subject. He has successfully translated the technical terms, the arithmetical formulae, into intelligible language, but the pages fairly bristle with an unending, unrelieved succession of facts. The result, after a chapter, is mental indigestion and the average reader will shrink at the prospect of two hundred pages more. There is and should be such a thing as double translation; and just as double staining will clarify tissues on a microscope slide, so this resimplification is equally important. The first elimination is of the obscurely technical, the second of the obscurely verbose, complex-worded, lay English. I quote a single paragraph: "When we observe the gravitational tractation of body and earth we speak of a force of gravitation as acting on the body. Bodies upon which the earth under similar conditions exerts equal forces we call equal in weight. Unfortunately weight is but a particular kind of force and force itself is an entirely subjective concept without any objective reality. Whatever may be the character of the alteration in the relative motions of the bodies of a system, the alteration is but the manifestation of a change in the disposition and availability of that uncomprehended motive power of our universe which we call energy." Careful second translation or rewriting would make of this a fascinating phenomenon, a thing to consider and to use at a crisis in conversation, where it would be as effective as an apt story or a perfect impersonation. There is a wonderful, romantic, striking idea hidden within it. But in Mr. Mills's language, while the letter of the physicist's technology has been avoided, yet the spirit of obscurity still dims it for the layman.

"The Mechanism of Life" (Longmans, Green) by James Johnstone is rather unexpectedly by a professor of oceanography, who explains his title in his preface; but its misleading character will give many prospective readers a totally wrong impression of the contents. He does not mean to indicate that he thinks life is mechanical, but only that his subject is a scientific analysis of the activities of living animals. He adds that his scientific investigation is the observation of space-time coincidences in a four-dimensional manifold. This does not represent the general diction, however, and the eleven chapters are well and clearly written. They are chiefly a résumé of the fields of the sensori-motor system, the principles and sources of energy, brain and nerve, the analysis of behavior, etc. Especially valuable is a close correlation of the physical make-up of an organ or tissue with a brief discussion of its function from the philosophical and often psychical point of view. If psychologists knew more of dissection and anatomy, and anatomists more of abstract psychology, we should have better balanced books. Henri Bergson's stimulating chapters would gain if we knew something of the muscles and nerves which react to our sense of humor, and Fabre, had he not so despised book learning, would have presented his marvelous observations with tenfold more force. Johnstone's book is valuable both as an object lesson and for its intrinsic thought.

"Earth Evolution and Its Facial Expression" (Macmillan) by William Herbert Hobbs is a history of the most important thing in the world, the earth beneath our feet. A history with no mention either of man or god or devil is a refreshing change, and we open this volume with enthusiasm. It is by a picture book, however, that our interest is attracted and held, for the text, while accurate as to fact if not theory, and full of solid information, is too much of the professor, professorial, rather than of the earth, earthy. It is enlivened by neither contrasts, similes, nor volcanic outbursts of literary effort. It flows along rather too much like the lava of which much of it treats. Unless intended solely as a textbook, of which there is no evidence, it fails of direct appeal to the layman, save only for its abundant, novel, and excellent illustrations. The author has the courage of his convictions and thrusts aside not only the theory of a molten interior of the earth but also that of a subterranean zone or universal reservoir of lava flow. Mr. Hobbs believes that all volcanic phenomena and all surface lava may be explained by "fusion of shaly sediments beneath rising anticlines and beneath upthrown blocks of the fault mosaic." His final conclusion, drawn from all his studies, is that "it has been customary greatly to overestimate the span of geological time," and that this is "a fraction only of that which it is now supposed to be." This is wholly at variance with the views of many geologists and of almost all zoologists.

The "Life of Elie Metchnikoff" (Houghton Mifflin) by Olga Metchnikoff has strength, candor, and balance, and is presented with simplicity, directness, and a charm of diction which is sustained to the end. We visualize the nervous, high-strung boy who, when cautioned not to disturb the people in the room below, seized a whistle and with face to a crack in the floor deliberately blew blast after blast. Then, in full manhood, we find him a worthy pupil of Pasteur, giving twenty years of his life to the development of one of the most important theories and practices of immunity. As Sir Ray Lancaster says: "The recognition of the validity of the doctrine of phagocytosis in relation to wounds, disease, immunity, and normal, healthy life is the triumphant result of the scientific insight and boundless energy of Elie Metchnikoff." Mme. Metchnikoff, as a result of her own researches when a pupil of her husband's, and later, as co-worker with him, is able here clearly to set forth in popular language the more important achievements of this great Russian scientist. Moreover she has given us invaluable sidelights on men such as Pasteur, Kovalevsky, and others. The volume is a graceful, worthy tribute. WILLIAM BEEBE

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Books in Brief

"LE 'Poème-Evangile' de Walt Whitman" (Paris: Mercure de France), by Léon Bazalgette, is a critical supplement to M. Bazalgette's excellent biography of Whitman published thirteen years ago. Rather it is a paean by way of appendix. Much of this interpretation is not new, yet most of it is sound, and all of it is interesting. M. Bazalgette expounds Whitman as the chanter of a threefold message, Democracy, Love, and Religion, concluding with a vision of the day when "Leaves of Grass" will be had by heart in unlettered cabins of remote counties. Such a vision will not be shared by certain less romantic admirers, and these also will quarrel with M. Bazalgette over his chapter on Whitman's art. He has no fault to find with Whitman's art. Every page is perfect, or if imperfect, no more so than some of Homer's. No problem that arises concerning Whitman's choice (or lack of choice) of material, his diction, and his rhythm, does he meet directly; he surrounds them all with mystical apologetic. If you find portions of Whitman ugly or tiresome, you have not understood his larger purposes. Understand these, and whatever is Whitman will be right. He was not an ordinary artist. He did not have to select, because all things were good. He did not need to describe; he had only to name. And his rhythm, being the rhythm of the ocean, was beyond criticism. All this does Whitman really less than justice, for it averages his best work with his worst. It claims a very doubtful value for the duller catalogues, while it fails to analyze the sometimes awful precision of diction and cadence of which he was capable. To make no distinction between the Song of the Exposition and When Lilacs Last in the Door-Yard Bloom'd is in the end to do no service whatever to criticism.

WHEN Algernon Tassin's play "The Craft of the Tortoise" appeared two years ago it met with a neglect which belongs with the most irritating items in recent taste. *The Nation*, however, while pointing out that the piece suggested Shaw, said in reviewing it that it was, "granting all reminiscences, . . . the keenest contemporary comedy of its kind in English." It is a pleasure to greet a new edition (Duffield) and a still greater pleasure to learn that the play is soon to be produced in New York.

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Drama

The Comic Muse

IF there is a modern Molière it is Bernard Shaw; if there is one who might have been a modern Molière it is Eugène Brieux. But Brieux, unhappily, mistook the function and nature of art almost from the beginning and gave to reform what was meant for mankind. Once and once only did he work exclusively in the spirit of creative art. It was when, in 1906, he wrote "Les Hannetons," which in the uncommonly adroit and sensitive version of Arthur Hornblow, Jr., is being presented by William Harris under the title of "Madame Pierre" (Ritz Theater).

It may be said that this play, too, has its moral. But Brieux does not tell us that a so-called free union may be as bitterly tyrannous as the most respectable marriage; he lets us see that freedom is in the self rather than in the world and its circumstances; he lets us see two of the raciest and most convincing human creatures in all literature. And because these two are not only so incomparably themselves, but because there is a Pierre in every man and a Charlotte in every woman, there is no need of defining the moral which is part and parcel of the tragi-comedy of human life itself. Like the "Amoureuse" of Porto-Riche, "Les Hannetons" is one of that group of rare and precious writings—the line extends, regardless of form or kind, from Horace's "Ibam forte via sacra" to Maugham's "Of Human Bondage"—in which the delineation of human nature has that supreme and central rightness, that final precision of fact and impulse and gesture which more than anything else and more justly than anything else preserves literature in the memory of mankind. Brieux's little comedy is anything but lofty; it is not even, in a reflective sense, profound; it has the felicity of going straight to permanent and essential things and of drawing from these alone its easy power and poignancy and charm. It has been called a bitter comedy. Its bitterness is not that of the author's temper but of the stuff of life. Doubtless it will be called immoral. Then so are we all and the word becomes meaningless. It is the play by which Brieux will be remembered; it will sustain the memory of a period of French dramatic literature much less rich and important than is commonly assumed.

The production is worthy of the play. Estelle Winwood, who also took the part of Germaine in "Amoureuse," plays Charlotte. She plays the character from within. Her litheness and her nervousness of gesture help her. But, as in the case of Germaine, she has, whether instinctively or intellectually, grasped the creative fact and projected it in its organic totality and concrete nature. She gives one the impression of having all of Charlotte's memories and a prescience of all her future. Roland Young's Pierre is no less happy and genuine in effect though perhaps a little more dictated by the actor's personal traits and methods. Mr. Robert Milton again shows through his directing his notable sensitiveness in the matter of dramatic rhythm.

Brieux's priceless human veracity in this single instance may be easily tested by comparison with later and by no means contemptible French plays. There is "The Nest" (Forty-eighth Street Theater) by Paul Géraldy, author of "Aimer," which has been produced at the Comédie Française and been thought the best play of the current Parisian season. M. Géraldy is serious; he observes correctly and writes with both elegance and skill. But the final identification of the seer with the thing seen is not his and what he gives us is respectable writing for the theater. Or there is "Montmartre" by Pierre Frondaie (Belmont Theater). It is the story of a modern and thoroughly realistic lady of the camelias. Marie-Claire is what she has always been and wrecks her life on the unescapable level of her original character. The part is played with freshness and felicity in at least the lighter passages by Galina Kopernak, a young Russian actress who will, no doubt, be heard of on Broadway, and produced with very agreeable pictorial effects by a cooperative group of actors whose efforts deserve the heartiest encouragement. But the final note of human authenticity is not here. Much is, again, well observed. But the groundwork is mechanical, not creative.

The spirit of the comic Muse of France, the Molièrian spirit of ultimate veracity and candor which Brieux caught once during his long and busy career, may best be savored and carried away as an inspiration and a touchstone by those who rightly hear and understand Yvette Guilbert. Her legends and her Baudelairian songs are grave and beautiful things. But listen to her song-recitations of "Pourquoi me bat mon mari?" or of "La Pauvre Innocente," and listen to her comments. "Nihil humanum!" Here are the sovereign sanity and tolerance, the raciness and wit and truthfulness and sober charm of the classical spirit of France. These qualities, so often distorted or obscured today, are revealed to us in "Amoureuse," in "Les Hannetons," in the mind and art of Yvette Guilbert.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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International Relations Section

Opening Germany's Books

WE give below, omitting a few introductory and closing remarks, the speech made by Dr. Walther Rathenau, German Minister for Industrial Reconstruction, at the Cannes Conference on January 12, after M. Briand and the French delegates had left:

Germany is determined, in its reparation payments, to go to the limits of her capacity. Germany has ever been a land of order; but Germany has gone through a lost war, through severe losses, and through a revolution. The abnormal conditions of living and of her finances, the consequence of those events, are felt by Germany herself most severely, and she wants to remove them. She does not want to demoralize the world's markets by underbidding. The two problems which Germany faces—payments abroad and restoration at home—are in conflict with each other. The case is like that of a shipbuilder who tries to obtain the greatest power development and a minimum coal consumption at the same time. It is therefore difficult to say whether this or that payment represents an adequate and endurable achievement. But a sum must be found which is at once endurable and takes account of the economic position of the countries that are to receive it. We know that in your circles figures have been mentioned—500 millions as money payments and 1,450 as payments in kind, inclusive of occupation costs. I will take these figures as the basis of my calculations. If another sum, higher by 220 millions, should be adopted, the problem will bec me further aggravated and endangered.

I take up now Germany's payments. Germany is a land of wage-labor. She receives raw materials from abroad, works them up, and sells the manufactured products. The quantity of raw materials left in Germany at the close of the war was, with the exception of coal, inconsiderable. Potash, about which there has been much talk, is not very important. In addition to these there were very small quantities of copper and zinc. Of everything else that Germany needs for housing, clothing, and feeding her population, the greater part must be bought abroad. Germany must therefore pay cash for everything that she buys. She can only pay with the labor of her people's hands. It is therefore necessary that Germany shall have an active balance of foreign trade and payments. Our balance of trade is burdened at the start with a debit of 2,500 millions for foodstuffs and 2,500 millions for raw materials, not including manufactured products or luxuries. These latter are not of considerable volume; and they are bought for the most part not from a voluntary decision, but for the purpose of maintaining neighborly trade relations. Besides the sums mentioned we have now to meet payments of about 750 millions on foreign investments in Germany, whereas before the war we received 1,500 millions upon our investments abroad. The debit side of the balance of payments amounts therefore to 5,750 million gold marks; over against which there are exports of 3,500 million to 4,000 million marks. There arises thus a debit balance of 2,000 millions even before making any reparation payments whatever. (Answering a question by Lloyd George:) It is quite true that, in consequence of the changed price basis in the world, Germany's exports would have to reach 14,000 to 15,000 million gold marks to make them correspond to the level before the war; they have therefore been reduced to one-fourth.

There are only three possibilities for covering the deficit in the payment balance: Selling the substance of the country, large foreign loans, or selling the country's currency. The sale of the country's substance (property) we were unfortunately not able to prevent. It has taken place on a large scale; lands, businesses, stocks, bonds, even household furniture have been bought below their value by foreigners.

The flotation of a foreign loan was tried by us, but it was impossible because the burdens imposed upon Germany were, in the opinion of the City (of London), too heavy. Under these circumstances it was impossible to avoid the sale of our currency, notwithstanding the fact that our money became thereby an object of international speculation. The process of selling out Germany's money went on at first without panicky results till about the middle of 1921. It was not encouraged by Germany, but was inaugurated abroad, where the intrinsic value of the mark was rightly regarded as higher than the foreign quotations. But at the middle of 1921 something happened that was to be foreseen—the strike of buyers of the mark. At the moment when it was seen that we were compelled to get together within a short time-limit one billion gold marks, which meant the sale of 30 billion of paper marks, the buyers of marks put their hands in their pockets and waited. Thus occurred the déroute of the mark, and the dollar rose from 157 marks to 300 marks for a time.

It has been said both in Germany and abroad that this collapse of the mark was only the consequence of inflation and the use of the note press. That is a mistake. Otherwise this fall could not have occurred so suddenly and in so short a time. Moreover, the quotation improved considerably as soon as a bit of blue sky was seen. That blue sky was the news about the conferences between the British and French governments regarding an arrangement of our obligations for 1922.

And now I come to an extremely important point. As long as the currency of a country has no stability in international markets it is impossible to keep any kind of budget in order for a definite period; for every new fall of exchange abroad causes an increase of expenditures for salaries, wages, and raw materials. The budget of a state, however, consists of only these three items. At this moment our budget is in order; it even shows a certain surplus, when reparation payments are not taken account of. Every fall of the mark, however, every advance of domestic prices, will endanger this budget. . . .

What means are at hand now for restoring sound conditions? How can Germany's currency ever be restored to its normal value? One remedial measure might be seen in a reduction of consumption. But this is scarcely feasible, inasmuch as our middle classes and workingmen are living far below the pre-war standard. The only prospect therefore is to increase production and our exports. Such an increase, however, is difficult because other countries are protecting themselves against increased imports from Germany. It only remains to increase agricultural production, but that takes time owing to the reduced productivity of the soil caused by the war.

I will now speak in detail of the burdens resting upon Germany. For 1922 the budget amounts to eighty-five billions, exclusive of reparations and other payments under the peace treaty. In order to balance this burden it was necessary to double taxation. I shall not speak here on the very important subject of comparative tax burdens; we have prepared data and place them at your disposal. I am prepared to prove that henceforth the German bears a heavier burden than the citizen of any other country, especially the Englishman or the Frenchman. In order to put our public finances upon a sound basis, it will be necessary to make our national business undertakings—the railways, post, and telegraphs—show a satisfactory balance sheet. Measures have been taken to make these undertakings balance in 1922. Moreover, the next thing is to get rid of the subsidies which had to be granted hitherto for social reasons for cheapening food. I shall not go into the details. Measures have been inaugurated for gradually extinguishing these subsidies. A third question regarding the German budget has reference to the price of coal. This price is approaching very rapidly the world's market price. As soon as the price of the dollar further declines the German coal prices will exceed the world's market prices. . . .

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Hitherto I have spoken only of a budget without reparations and without the domestic costs of the peace treaty. If I proceed from the above-mentioned 500 million cash payments in 1922, the additional payments in kind of 1,450 million gold marks, and add to these the home payments under the treaty, I obtain the following result:

500 million gold mks (at 1:50)	25 billion paper mks.
1,450 million gold mks	72.5 " " "
Peace treaty expenditures	38 " " "
	135,500,000,000 paper marks

This sum would have to be added to the budget of 1922, with its eighty-three billion paper marks. The budget would therefore undergo a 150 per cent increase and amount to 218.5 billion paper marks. There are only two means for making the budget balance: either to double or treble taxes or to raise a gigantic loan. It would be impossible to double taxes again, since Germany already has higher taxes than her neighbors. There remains accordingly the question of a very large loan. I believe that it will not be possible to raise such a loan in foreign countries. The City of London has already refused a very much smaller sum for meeting the January and February payments. The question of a domestic loan will be very seriously discussed, but in the existing situation it will hardly be possible to offer the necessary inducements to float a loan even remotely corresponding to the sum needed.

I feel the need of correcting one criticism that is made again and again. It is said that Germany is still the same country; that it still has 60 million inhabitants, among them a large agricultural and industrial population; that it has abundant means for working and no unemployment. Why can a busy and ostensibly rich country make no payments? On the contrary, I reply that we have no savings. Permit me to examine for a moment the question of national savings.

When I examine the Germany of today and compare it with that of former times I observe in the first place that we lack the reserves that we received out of our investments abroad. Before the war we had receipts of 1,500 millions from these sources; but today we must meet payments of 750 millions upon investments of foreigners in Germany. The second factor is the loss of territory and population. As compared with the period before the war we have lost more than 10 per cent. The third factor is the reduction of exports already mentioned. Exports have declined from 10 000 millions to 3,500 millions, or if we take into consideration the index of world-prices, to 2,500 millions. The profits from this trade have also fallen off correspondingly. A fourth factor is that we lost a large part of our raw materials, which we must now import and pay for with gold marks or with exports. The fifth factor is that the agricultural population has been reduced more than the general population, and that the losses of territory were precisely in districts that produced an excess of farm products. The sixth factor, too, is a very important one—the shrinkage of profits derived from German activity in navigation, foreign trade, and banking in foreign countries.

Upon the basis of these factors—which, indeed, partly overlap—I estimate that, instead of the six billions of national savings that we had before the war, we now have a deficit of one to two billion gold marks a year. Thus Germany is gradually consuming herself; she is living from her own substance. She has the means neither for making renewals nor for supplying her increasing population with the means of economic production.

The question has also been asked in regard to Germany—and the chairman has rightly brought it up here for discussion: What are you doing with your goods? If you do not export them, then you are investing them and accumulating large new wealth at home. It seems a great paradox that a country without savings should hoard goods, build, and invest. I beg you therefore to permit me to speak of the hours of labor in Germany and the use made of them. I come at the same time to the question, what is Germany doing with her unemployed and the loss of work-hours in the existing situation.

1. The receipts from capital investments abroad were formerly paid to us in goods—a continuous tribute of goods that flowed in a broad stream to us. In order to replace those goods, and especially to obtain raw materials which formerly came into Germany as current profits, we must now labor and expend work-hours. This expenditure of work-hours may be estimated at 3,500 millions yearly.

2. From the loss of territory there results a loss in savings expressed by an increased expenditure of one billion work-hours.

3. To pay for the raw materials formerly produced within our own borders we must export goods or work-hours; the number of work-hours thus expended is estimated at 830 millions.

4. From the less favorable status and extent of farming lands and the loss of fertilizers there results a further expenditure of 1,820 million work-hours.

5. The value of the services lost in shipping, foreign trade, and foreign banking should amount to 1,660 million work-hours.

The total increased expenditure of work-hours represented by the factors here mentioned amounts accordingly to from 9,000 to 9,280 millions.

If I assume a working population of 21,000,000 and reckon an average of 2,500 work-hours a year per capita, we get a total of not more than 50 billion work-hours for the German people. Of this total more than 9 billions, or nearly one-fifth of the whole, is expended upon labor that we did not need to do at all before the war.

If I compare this sum with the total number of men workers in Germany I find that we have a disguised unemployment in Germany amounting to nearly four million men; in other words, four million men must do work that was formerly not needed. When therefore it is said that there is in other lands a degree of unemployment not seen with us, I must answer that, on the contrary, we have an invisible unemployment consisting in the fact that four million men must do work formerly not called for, and whose work does not augment the total product of labor as compared with the situation formerly—and all this before any reparation payments whatever are made. There can therefore be no talk of hoarding wealth.

I beg now to be permitted to say something about the purely gold payments. It may be that the remarks that I have hitherto made had a negative sound. Where optimism fails, energy and resolution must come to our help. But here too there are limits. I refer again to the 500 million gold marks already mentioned. But the purely gold payments of Germany will certainly be much greater than that sum. In the first place there will be a balance of 340 to 400 millions from the clearing process; and then gold payments must be made upon the imported raw materials for making the goods that we need for reparation payments in kind; for, apart from coal . . . we must import from abroad about 25 per cent of the raw materials needed for payments in kind of other commodities.

Thus I get a further 250 million gold marks. We would accordingly have to meet gold payments of more than one billion in 1922, although the sum is ostensibly only 500 million. If it is necessary to demand such a huge sum from Germany, then the question of reducing the clearing payments or the expenses of the occupation ought to be carefully examined. In any case, however, Germany is entirely willing to adopt the way that has been proposed to her for stabilizing the budget. The increase of the customs duties to the gold basis is to be carried out. The question of transportation tariffs (railways, posts, telegraphs) is to be settled in 1922 in such a way as to get rid of the deficit in this department. The abolition of the food susidies has begun. The coal question is more difficult because prices are approaching nearer and nearer to the world market price. As for the home loan, it will be taken into the most serious consideration.

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France and Germany Face the Facts

THE Paris *Temps* of October 8 and 9, 1921, published the texts of the Loucheur-Rathenau agreement which terminated the conferences begun last summer by the French Minister of Liberated Regions and the German Minister of Industrial Reconstruction. The agreement is made up of two documents: a Memorandum which sets forth the general principles of the agreement and an Annex which defines in detail the procedure of the organization in charge of the reparations.

The Memorandum

The German Government has expressed its definite desire to assist in the reconstruction of the devastated regions by the delivery of machinery and raw materials in the largest measure possible.

The French Government has taken note of this declaration, at the same time calling attention to the fact that the law of April 17, 1919, concerning the reparation of war damages, prevents the French Government from forcing the French war sufferers to accept payment of their claims in any specified form, and that the present Memorandum cannot therefore supersede this law.

Consequently the following articles have been agreed upon:

Article 1. A private organization shall be established in Germany whose duty it shall be to carry out the deliveries of machinery and raw materials which may be asked by the French war sufferers organized in groups, in accordance with a procedure to be determined later by the French Government. The Annex to this Memorandum determines the regulations which this organization must follow as regards the fixing of prices and the manner of payment of the merchandise.

Art. 2. The German Government states that in case (contrary to the position taken by them before the Committee on Guaranties) the Reparation Commission should decide that the deliveries made in accordance with their obligations mentioned in Part VIII of the Treaty of Versailles must be included in the exports mentioned in Articles 4 and 7 of the Statement of Payments, it will be possible for the German Government to execute the provisions of the present Memorandum and of its Annex only if the provisions of Articles 4 and 7 of the Statement of Payments be applied to the deliveries which make the object of the present Memorandum, with the following modifying measure for the year of delivery: 26 per cent of Article 4 and 25 per cent of Article 7 shall be demandable only in regard to that portion of the value of the deliveries which shall effectively be counted toward the discharge of the yearly payment due by Germany for the current year. The surplus will be carried over to be paid by Germany each year from the 1st of May, 1926, in a proportion of 26 per cent and 25 per cent respectively of the reimbursements effected during the said year for the said deliveries.

In other words, the deliveries effected according to the provisions of the present agreement will be counted each year in the total of the German exports in execution of Articles 4 and 7 of the Statement of Payments only in proportion as they shall be paid for.

As this question is within the exclusive province of the Reparation Commission and of the Committee on Guaranties, it will have to be submitted to them by the German Government. The French Government will support the demand of the German Government before both these organizations.

Art. 3. The French Government will present to the Reparation Commission for their acceptance the other provisions of this Memorandum and of the Annex which might concern it.

Art. 4. The payments mentioned in Annexes 3, 5, and 6 of Part VIII of the Treaty of Versailles will continue to be carried out in accordance with the procedure determined by the treaty.

The French Government declares that it is disposed to accept in so far as it is concerned the position that the procedure determined upon in the present Memorandum and in the Annex by analogy with the provisions of Article 8 of the Statement of Payments should be applied with a view to insure the deliveries of machinery and of raw materials demanded for the reconstruction of the devastated regions under good conditions, with the reservation that the binding orders given in accordance with Annex 4 before the signature of the present document will be executed, and will continue to be executed according to the procedure defined in Annex 4. The French Government reserves for itself, however, the right to return to the said procedure if it deems it necessary after giving a year's notice.

The German Government may also give a year's notice to the French Government, but not before May 1, 1923, to the effect that it denounces the arrangements decided upon as a result of the present Memorandum in order to return to the procedure of Annex 4 and to Article 8 of the Statement of Payments.

In case the procedure of Annex 4 and of Article 8 of the Statement of Payments should be adopted on the initiative of one or the other governments, the German Government will not claim any limit of time in regard to the Memorandum and its Annex.

On account of the delays incurred during the period of application of the present Memorandum, the provisions of Article 8 of the Statement of Payments which do not concern the restoration of the devastated regions are not affected by the present Memorandum and its Annex.

Art. 5. The French Government and the German Government agree to take all necessary measures so that the supplying of machinery and of raw materials effected in execution of the present Memorandum and its Annex shall be applied only to the reconstruction of the devastated regions.

Art. 6. The French Government agrees to make the necessary arrangements to assure that the materials delivered in accordance with the present Memorandum and its Annex shall be applied only to the reconstruction of the devastated regions.

Art. 7. In the event that Paragraph 18 of Annex 2 in Part VIII of the Treaty of Versailles be applied, this application shall not hinder the giving of credit to Germany in the manner provided for in Article 6 of the Annex to the present Memorandum, for the sums due to G. (Germany) by F. (France). Likewise the stocks of merchandise formed in France by the private organizations mentioned in Article 1 with a view to possible future orders of supply as well as the funds made up with a view to the execution of the provisions of the Annex to the present Memorandum shall not be liable to confiscation by virtue of said Paragraph 18.

To sum up, the French war sufferers reserve the right of not buying machinery and raw materials from Germany if they prefer to apply somewhere else; the agreement is, therefore, as regards France an optional one. As regards the collecting of the 25 per cent tax on the amount of German exports, a tax which constitutes the variable annuities due by Germany, by virtue of the Statement of Payments, the agreement takes into account the fact that it would not be just if Germany were to suffer this levying on such exports as might be a sort of advance to France. Consequently it is decided that the levying of the 26 per cent will be effected each year only upon that portion of the deliveries in kind which will count toward the effective payment for the annuity due for the current year.

Annex No. 1

Annex No. 1 to the Memorandum describes the working of the system as regards deliveries as well as their payment.

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The essential articles of this Annex follow, X representing the collectivity of French war sufferers, and Y the German organization for the reception and filling of the orders.

ARTICLE 1. Beginning October 1, 1921, Y undertakes to deliver to X, if the latter so desires, all machinery and raw materials up to an amount not exceeding German productivity and in a measure compatible with her own internal necessities and the amount of raw materials needed by her to preserve her social and economic life.

However, all products specified in Annexes 3, 5, and 6 of Part VIII of the Treaty of Versailles are excluded from the present contract.

The cumulative value of the payments which Germany will make to France in execution of Annexes 3, 5, and 6, as well as the cumulative value of the deliveries from Y to X in execution of the present contract will not exceed 7 billion gold marks during the period extending from October 1, 1921, to May 1, 1926.

Articles 2 and 3 determine the conditions of delivery.

ART. 4. The prices for rolling stock and standardized materials will be determined by the Arbitration Commission and will be applied to the orders given by Y to X, except in case a direct understanding has taken place between the two parties.

ART. 5. The prices for special material, such as machines or industrial installations, will be agreed upon through direct understanding between the demander and the supplier.

Y states that they know of the provisions of the Statement of Payments, notice of which was given to the German Government by the Reparation Commission on May 5, 1921, and they accept the view that on X's notice they will consider themselves as paid accordingly, and such sums will be charged against the reimbursements of the corresponding year, that is, to the credit of Germany and the debit of France in the accounts of the Reparation Commission.

In such case a simple notice given by the Reparation Commission to the German Government and the entering to the credit in favor of Germany of the sum in question will constitute a sufficient discharge from X toward Y for that sum.

Articles 6 and 7 determine in what way X will reimburse Y for the advance deliveries, for the sums entered to Germany's credit and to France's debit in the accounts of the Reparation Commission, and state that the said deliveries being paid for in this way shall amount to a minimum of 35 per cent of the value of the deliveries effected by Germany. The sums due by France will bear interest at 5 per cent (not compound).

ART. 8. The sum total of the value of the payments in kind and of the credits which will be given by Y to X in the manner provided for in Article 6 shall not exceed 1 billion gold marks a year.

ART. 9. On May 1, 1936, the sums still due to Y by reason of the deliveries in kind effected since October 1, 1921, and for which credit may not have been given, will be added up. This balance will be reimbursed to Y with compound interest at 5 per cent in four semi-annual instalments, viz., June 30 and December 31, 1936 and 1937, with reservation of the provisions of Article 11, which follows.

ART. 11. The settlements which Y must effect every year in favor of X in application of the present contract shall in no case exceed the stated amount, even though, by adding this amount to the settlements effected the same year by the French Government as a counterpart of the payments received by France in accordance with Annexes 3, 5, and 6 of Part VIII of the Treaty of Versailles, the total should be superior to the French portion of 52 per cent in the payments made by Germany or credited to Germany in the said year in payment of her debt for that year as Article 4 of the Statement of Payments defines it.

Beginning on May 1, 1936, Y may not deliver the products asked for by X if the execution of these orders should bring about the obligation on X's part to give credit to Y for an amount exceeding the limit set by the present article for a year.

CONTRACT REGARDING INDUSTRIAL MACHINERY

An analysis of the essential articles of the Substitution Contract regarding industrial machinery follows:

1. The French organizations for restitution will be dissolved in proportion as the machinery still due is delivered. Germany will keep as her own property any industrial machinery mentioned in Article 238 of the treaty of peace which may be standing on her territory and for which France shall not have given transportation orders within sixty days after this agreement has been signed.

2. Within eight months after this signature, Germany will deliver 120,000 tons of industrial machinery, chosen by France, preferably from the stocks and stores of the German Government, and France will follow the trade customs in matters of discharge. This machinery, as far as possible, must be *new;* if it has been used it must be in perfect working order. The machinery will be transported at Germany's expense, the customs dues remaining a charge upon France.

Germany recognizes herself debtor to France for a sum of 158 million gold marks. This sum will be paid as follows: Immediately after the signature of this agreement, the German Government will put at the disposal of the French Government, as its full property, without any expense to the latter, an irrevocable credit of 158 million gold marks, bearing interest at 5 per cent yearly, beginning with the sixtieth day after the signature of this agreement. This credit will be deposited to France's account in a branch house of the Reichsbank in the Rhineland, to be designated by France. This credit will be used by France in payment for orders which must be given by her before December, 1925.

These orders will be for industrial machinery to be manufactured in Germany; France will select it, but the whole will be distributed among the different German industries and throughout the different German districts. The technical, commercial, and financial conditions of these orders will be decided upon through direct discussion between the French buyer and the German seller. In case of disagreement the difference will be submitted to a commission comprising (1) a representative of the French Government; (2) a representative of the German Government; (3) a person designated by the President of the Swiss Republic. The decisions will be effective immediately.

The payments for the orders filled will be made by means of checks drawn by the French Government or by the person or corporation designated by it; in the latter case it will be submitted to the supervision of some organization designated by the French Government. These checks will be drawn to the order of the German seller. At the time the said organization for supervision puts its visa upon the checks it shall notify the branch house of the Reichsbank where the credit is deposited. Within ten days after this notice has been given the German Government will have the right to ascertain for itself that the banking operation involved in the drawing of the check is not fictitious. In case it is found so the German Government must give notice before the ten days are over that it opposes payment of the check. Except for such definitely specified cases, proof of which devolves upon the German Government, the latter agrees to give orders to the Reichsbank to pay the checks on presentation before the ten days have expired, and within the limit of the credit of 158 million gold marks and of the interest pertaining to it, it being understood that all checks bear the visa of the French supervisory organization, all contrary conventions not approved by the French Government excepted.

The orders given to Germany for which payment is to be made out of the above credit will carry no taxes or duties of any kind, and will be guaranteed against any requisition or other measures likely to interfere with the exercise of the right granted to France.

(*Continued on Page 272.*)

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As soon as possible a representative of the French Government and one of the German Government will decide upon the practical and technical conditions for the working of the credit, especially as regards questions of exchange.

The Protection of France

THE text of the draft treaty between Great Britain and France, printed below, was drawn up at the Cannes Conference in January and published in the London *Morning Post* on January 14.

Whereas the soil of France has been twice invaded by Germany within living memory, and is still suffering deeply from the devastation wrought by the enemy, and the peoples of both France and the British Empire have paid a heavy toll of manhood and wealth in overcoming the invasion of the German armies, and whereas the welfare of the European peoples and the economic structure of the world have been profoundly disturbed by the protracted ordeal of the war through which they have lately passed, and whereas the guaranties of the security of France against any future invasion by Germany are indispensable to the restoration of European stability and the safety of Great Britain and the peace of the world.

And whereas the following safeguards contained in the Treaty of Versailles:

ARTICLE 42. Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine, on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometers to the east of the Rhine;

ART. 43. In the area defined above the maintenance and assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and of military maneuvers of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all the permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden;

ART. 44. In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of Articles 42 and 43, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the Powers signatory to the present treaty, and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world,

may not sufficiently provide for the defense of the essential common interests of the high contracting parties and the maintenance of peace in Western Europe, his Majesty and the President of the French Republic have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1. In the event of direct and unprovoked aggression against the soil of France by Germany, Great Britain will immediately place herself at the side of France with her naval, military, and air forces.

ART. 2. The high contracting parties reassert their common interest in Articles 42, 43, and 44 of the Treaty of Versailles, and will consult together should any breach of them be threatened or any doubt arise as to their interpretation.

ART. 3. The high contracting parties undertake further to concert together in the event of any military, naval, or air measures inconsistent with the Treaty of Versailles being taken by Germany.

ART. 4. The present treaty shall impose no obligations upon any of the Dominions of the British Empire unless and until it is approved by the Dominion concerned.

ART. 5. This treaty shall remain in force for a period of ten years, and shall, if approved by both parties, be renewable at the end of that period.

For Franco-German Friendship

THE following extraordinary joint declaration was recently made by the French League of the Rights of Man, an organization which has a long and honorable history dating back to the time of the Dreyfus affair, and by the vigorous German New Fatherland League which was suppressed by the old imperial government because of its too vigorous democratic activities during the war. The text

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is taken from *Le Progrès Civique* (Paris) for January 28, 1922.

The Central Committee of the French League of the Rights of Man and the Executive Committee of the New Fatherland League after deliberating in common have resolved as follows:

After the immense catastrophe which cost the world so many millions of human lives and so much unrecoverable wealth, the ruined peoples passionately long for peace, security, and reconciliation. Men of vision of all nations know that this peace can be achieved only by the common effort of all the democracies and especially of the French and German democracies. The League of the Rights of Man and the New Fatherland League would like to attempt to begin to organize such an effort. They consider that before normal relations can be reestablished between Germany and France:

1. Germany must recognize that the reparation of the damage done France by the German invasion is not only a legal obligation but a moral duty, and she must find a way to impose the necessary sacrifices upon persons of privilege. And on the other hand France must not refuse to accept reparations in kind as outlined in the Wiesbaden agreements and by the labor organizations of the two countries;

2. In order to diminish and little by little to put an end to the mutual distrust of the two peoples, Germany, despite hidden resistance, must complete her disarmament with a loyalty above suspicion, and France, thus assured of her security, should in her turn disarm in order to bring about general disarmament;

3. For the greater good of human civilization relations must be reestablished, not only between the working classes and business men of the two peoples, but also between their scholars and artists;

4. In order that the responsibility for the war may be decisively determined all the governments must open their archives without reserve, and independent and impartial men should be charged with studying the documents, so that an enlightened world conscience may judge with a full knowledge of the facts;

5. Finally and most important of all the German and French peoples must regard as the true basis of permanent peace a League of Nations which is not a league of governments but of peoples, and which has the necessary power; and France must permit the admission of democratic Germany into the League of Nations.

In this common task the two organizations agree henceforward to collaborate. Each in its own country and with the same motto [War on war], they will fight the military spirit and will attempt to destroy faith in force and to substitute for it faith in international justice. To support this ideal they will make an urgent appeal to the popular forces which have the numbers and the energetic will for social renovation which might help in the work of realization. They will attempt to dissipate the misunderstandings between the two peoples, opposing the authority of verified fact to the propagandist reports of the chauvinist press. Convinced that lies are nourished by hate, they will work together for reconciliation through truth.

Central European Peace

A SERIES of agreements have been entered into by Austria and Czecho-Slovakia establishing relations of peaceful cooperation and laying down commercial regulations for the two countries. A general treaty, signed on December 16, which seems sure of being ratified, was printed in the *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna) of December 21.

The Government of the Austrian Republic on the one hand and the Government of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic on the other hand have agreed to enter into a political agreement, with the intention to preserve the peace of Europe and to regulate their political and economic relations. . . .

ARTICLE 1. Recognizing the Treaty of Peace of Saint-Ger-

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main-en-Laye concluded with Austria on September 10, 1919, and the Treaty of Peace of the Trianon, concluded with Hungary on June 4, 1920, both states agree to carry out to their fullest extent the obligations contained in the two mentioned treaties.

ART. 2. Both states guarantee each other's territory, as fixed in Article 1 of the treaties and agree further to be of mutual assistance to each other in maintaining the peace and integrity of said territories.

ART. 3. Both states agree to maintain their neutrality in case one of them is attacked and forced to defend itself.

ART. 4. Both states agree not to permit in their territories any political or militaristic organization directed against the existence and security of one of the two contracting parties. They furthermore agree to cooperate and assist each other against all plans and attempts to restore the old system, be it in the matter of external or internal politics, be it in regard to the form of the state or of the government. The authorities of both states shall assist each other in this fight against secret machinations.

ART. 5. The Czecho-Slovakian Republic shall communicate to the Austrian Republic the text of the political and economic treaties concluded with the Kingdom of Jugoslavia, the Kingdom of Rumania, and the Republic of Poland. In the same way Austria shall communicate the text of analogous treaties to the Czecho-Slovakian Republic.

ART. 6. Both states agree to see to it that the treaties regarding the regulation of economic and financial questions or regarding the treatment of minorities and other questions, whether already existing or to be concluded in future, shall be carefully adhered to; they agree furthermore to seek as soon as possible an understanding regarding those differences which have hitherto remained unsettled.

ART. 7. In case differences should occur after the conclusion of this treaty both states shall try to reach an understanding by friendly agreement; eventually they might bring their quarrels before an international court or before one or more arbitrators who should be selected for this purpose.

ART. 8. Both states agree not to enter into any agreement with another state which would be contradictory to the treaty just concluded. They also declare that the present agreement contains no contradiction to those previously concluded.

ART. 9. The present agreement shall run for five years from the day of exchange of the instruments of ratification. After three years from said day each of the contracting parties shall have the right to withdraw from the present agreement provided it gives notice to this effect six months in advance.

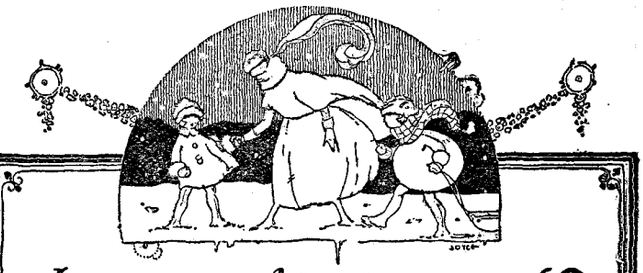
ART. 10. The present agreement shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged as soon as possible at Prague.

ART. 11. The present agreement shall be communicated to the League of Nations.

Drawn at Prague, December 16, 1921, in two copies.

A trade agreement was signed at the same time; although the text of it has not been made public, Chancellor Schober, speaking before the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Austrian Government, referred to it in these terms:

In regard to the passport regulations both countries agreed to facilitate passenger traffic by issuing passports running for two years and by giving visas for one year on these passports for the fixed sum of 9.52 gold kronen in the case of persons crossing the border for a longer stay, and of 0.952 gold kronen in the case of persons in transit. Further facilities are provided by the extension to all passport officials in both states of the power to issue visas and permission to pass the frontier without visas in the case of persons in transit, as long as the visa of the country of destination is in order. . . . In regard to economic and financial questions both governments agreed to ask for early ratification of the pending commercial treaties and further reduction of export and import duties. Czecho-Slovakia agreed to fix the limit for tax-free export of coal to Austria at 800 instead of 510 carloads per day.



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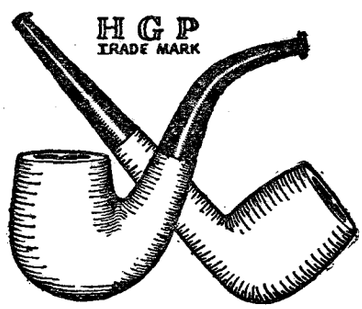

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